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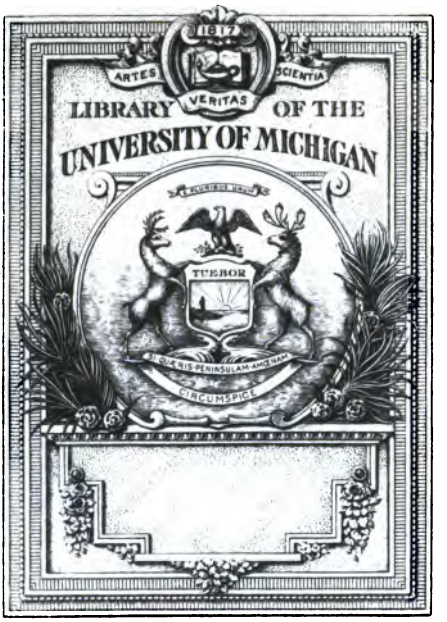

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THE MEMOIRES OF THE DUKE of ROHAN;

OR,

A FAITHFUL RELATION

Of the most Remarkable

Occurrences

In *FRANCE*;

Especially concerning those of the Reformed Churches there.

From the Death of *HENRY* the Great, untill the Peace made with them, in *June*, 1629.

TOGETHER

With divers Politick Discourses upon Several Occasions.

Written Originally in *French*, by the Duke of ROHAN

And now Englished by *George Bridges* of *Lincolns-Inne*, Esq;

London, Printed by *E.M.* for *Gabriel Bedell*, and *Thomas Collins*; and are to be sold at their Shop, at the Middle-Temple Gate in *Fleet-street*. 1660.

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To the Right Honourable,

JAMES,

Lord-Marqueſs of *Ormond*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, Steward of His Majeſties Houſhold, Knight of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter, and one of His Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Councel, &c.

My LORD,

TO pretend an Ignorance of Your Perſon, which your Loyalty, (the only Embelliſher of all other Vertues) has rendered ſo Eminently Famous, and thence frame an Apologetique Preface, to uſher in this Addreſs to Your Lordſhip, would be a Crime greater than the Preſumption, and an unpardonable Offence againſt that Goodneſs, which never frowned on the meaneſt payment of that Tribute Your Merits juſtly challenge from all

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Men: 'Tis that, My Lord, which imboldens me, Humbly to preſent Your Lordſhip with this Tranſlation of a Modern Hiſtory, written Originally by the Duke of ROHAN, a Prince, whoſe Valour, and other Rare Accompliſhments, not inferiour to the moſt Eminent of his time, had rendered his Reputation as clear, as great, had they not been unfortunately employed againſt a Party, in which his King was intereſſed (Religion it ſelf having not power ſufficient to Authorize Armes, raiſed by Subjects againſt their Soveraign) for one which payed all his ſervices with Calumny and Detraction.

But far from me be the preſumption to direct Your Lordſhips Judgement of his Exploits, either in the Camp, or Cabinet; either of his Sword, or Pen; which I was principally induced to publiſh in our Language, by ſome paſſages, tending to the Vindication of our late incomparable King, and Martyr, from no leſs falſe, than foule aſperſions concerning *Rochelle*, (His care and diligence to order their relief, being here acknowledged by perſons more concerned, than our pretended Propagators of Religion, the *Rochellers* ruine being chiefly occaſioned by their own Inconſtancy, refuſing to admit thoſe ſuccours when come, which they before, even with tears implored, and their own inteſtine diviſions and factions) with which His Blaſphemous, and Rebellious Subjects, firſt ſought to wound His Fame, that with more ſecurity they might im-

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brew their Hands in His moſt Sacred Blood: A. knowing how zealous an Aſſertor Your Lordſhip has alwayes ſhewen Your Self, both of His Rights and Innocence; and how indefatigable, (though with the hazard of the deareſt Treaſures, both of Your Life, and Fortune) Your Induſtry has been, for the reſtoring of His Majeſty, (by God's Miraculous Providence now Reigning over us) even in thoſe times, when Treaſon having uſurped the Throne, Rewards and Puniſhments were with ſuch prodigious Impiety miſplaced, that Loyalty was daily crucified, when Villany was cherished, and advanced; nor were our very thoughts exempt from the Tyrant's barbarous Inquiſitions; I could not more juſtly offer it to the Patronage of any, than Your Lordſhip; together with him, who, with Your Lordſhips pardon, humbly begs the Honour to ſubſcribe himſelf,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhips moſt Humble,

Moſt Devoted,

And moſt Obedient Servant,

GEORGE BRIDGES.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE Reader.

THIS Treatiſe preſents you with the Hiſtory of three Wars ſuſtained in France, in defence of the Reformed Churches there; the occaſion of the firſt was Bearne; that of the ſecond, the not obſerving the Peace made at Montpellier; and that of the third, was the hope to ſave Rochelle: But our ſins fought againſt us; for inſtead of profiting, we were hardned by the chaſtiſements God ſent us. In the two firſt Wars, the diviſions appeared but as ſcattered ſparks, which in the laſt united to make a general conflagration, there being no place, where Corruption had not ſeated it ſelf, and Avarice excluded Piety; ſo that inſtead of expecting any overtures from our enemies, every one proſtituted himſelf to ſell his Religion, and betray his Countrey: Our Anceſtours would have cruſhed ſuch children in their Cradles, had they thought they would have proved inſtruments of ruine to thoſe Churches which they had planted in the midſt of Flames, and cheriſhed in deſpight of Torments; and who by their indefatigable pains, and perſeverance, had left them poſſeſſors of a glorious Repoſe;

Repoſe: Nor will our Poſterity eaſily believe themſelves deſcended from ſuch Noble Grandfathers, and ſuch Infamous Fathers, if they look not higher, to wit, to God, who raiſes, and abates the Courages of men, according as his good pleaſure is to diſcover his Wonders to his Church, in raiſing it from the duſt; when the powers of the world conceive it buried there, and depreſſing it again, when Pride, and an Abuſe of his Graces, are the only Product of them.

And here I ſpeak to you Princes, and Common-wealths, whom God hath honoured with his Knowledge, bleſt with his Favours, advanced to the height of Dignity, and even ſatiated with Riches; take warning by us, and boaſt not your ſelves in the Arme of fleſh, and the greatneſs of your Forces; in the height of your Proſperity beware a Fall; for then are you neareſt danger: Many of you have with dry Eyes, and lethargique Arms, been Spectators of our Tragedy, without contributing any thing to our relief; and we our Selves, have ſeen the Ships, and Armies of others ingratefully promoting the ruine of thoſe, who relieved them in their neceſſity: God will not fail to do his work without you, when the time of our deliverance ſhall come; He is nearer to us in our Adverſity, than you are to him in your Proſperity; if we are obliged to implore his Favour, you are much more to prevent his Judgments. Let the examples of others be your inſtruction, and while it is yet time, conſider from what ſource your bleſſings flow, and give the honour and glory of it to him, to whom it is only due. In the mean time, prepare your ſelves to ſee here, without any diſguiſe, the naked truth of what paſſed in our late trouble.

I have begun this Hiſtory at the death of Henry *the Great; for that during the minority of the King, his Son, the Maximes laid down by the Father, for the Government of* France, *were changed, and the foundation of the perſecution of thoſe of the Reformed Religion laid, which*

which had like also to have proved the subversion of all Christendome, and given its Monarchy to the house of Austria.

I leave it to Posterity, to the end, that after my death, the truth of things which I have seen, may not be obscured, either by the Fables of Flatterers, or the Invectives of our Persecutors: I have done it, without any the least Fiction, or Passion, and shall leave every man his liberty to judge of it, as he shall please.

THE

THE Memoires OF THE DUKE of *ROHAN*: OR, A true *Narration* of the moſt remarkable Accidents in *FRANCE*, From the death of *Henry* the Great, until the Peace made with thoſe of the Reformed Churches there, in *June* 1629.

The firſt Book.

Containing the troubles during the minority of the King.

After the death of *Henry* the Great, every one began to think of his own affairs, the *Queen* to eſtabliſh her authority, the *chief Miniſters of State* to maintain their own, by advancing hers, as being the eaſieſt to be effected (by reaſon of the abſence of the firſt Prince of the blood, the imbecillity of the ſecond, and the miſunderſtanding that was between the third and them:) and the other great ones to raiſe themſelves

ſelves from that abject condition, the precedent raign had caſt them into. Amid'ſt all which, hatreds were frequent, and the moſt ſubtle among them made uſe of the paſſion of others to ruine the authority of thoſe that eclipſed theirs.

He that received the firſt ſhock, after the Regency was ſettled on the Queen, was the Duke of *Sully*, who by his ſervices had acquired the honour of *Principal Confident* to the former King, and purchaſed the ill-will of moſt others: For a vertue, eminent, as was his, accompanied with the favour of his Maſter, is alwayes attended on by envie, a vice as frequent among men, as unworthy thoſe who pretend any profeſſion of honour. Many were very zealous for his ruine, and that for different reaſons; The Chancellor *Villeroy*, and the Preſident *Jeanin*, to confirm their own power in the government of the State, and take from among them a Man, whoſe exactneſſe in the diſcharge of his Offices was their ſhame, ſo clear-ſighted to diſcern, and ſo bold to diſcover their faults; The Count of *Soiſſons* out of ſome particular hatred he bore him: The Marqueſſe *d' Ancre* for fear he ſhould nip his budding fortune; and all the other Grandees, becauſe they thought him too good a mannager of the Publick treaſure; And the Prince of *Conde* when he came to the Court, by the inſtigation of the Marſhal *Boüillon*, who bore him an inveterate malice, and drew on the Prince with hopes of confiſcating his goods: A powerful motive to ſet that Prince on work.

The chiefeſt means they uſed to remove him from the helme, were, to raiſe a jealouſie in the Queen of the auſterity of his humour, who oppoſed her in her liberalities; and to perſwade her, that, having need of the Popes favour to ſtrengthen her authority, ſhe could not ſuffer one of the Reformed Religion, to have any hand in the Government of the State; Prevalent reaſons with a Princeſs, who was a Forraigner little verſed in State matters, jealous of her authority, and diſtruſtful of all ſorts of people: But in the end experience diſcovered it to be the ruine of the State; For the Grandees grew up to a height that diminiſhed the Royal power; the Treaſuries were drained, the Arſenals ſtrangely diſperſed, and the compariſon of that miſerable condition of *France* with that flouriſhing one, the Duke of *Sully* left it in, clearly demonſtrates, how highly prejudicial to the State, was his removal from his employments in it.

The Marſhal *Boüillon*, a man of great courage and underſtanding, able to procure great good, and no leſſe miſchief to a *Common-wealth*, and who had been alwayes curbed by the late King, who was jealous of him, finding himſelf now at liberty, uſes all manner of inventions, to make himſelf thought uſeful, and neceſſary:

tary: The first was to endeavour wholly to posseſſe the ſpirit of the Prince of *Conde*, whoſe kinſman he was, and to perſwade him to become one of the Reformation, by that means to make himſelf the Chief, and Protector of a party, that was then very conſiderable; and with ſuch induſtry carryed he on his Plots, that the Queen conceived great ſuſpitions of him; and therefore to divert this blow, ſought after him, who as ſoone as he had made his conditions with her, effaces the deſires he had infuſed into the Prince, to imitate the vertuous actions of his Anceſtors; ſhewing him the thornes were in the way to honour, the perils, hardſhips and adverſe accidents are met withal, in the purſuit of it; In ſhort, the miſery and poverty that accompany it, which proved moſt effectuall reaſons to diſſwade him from a deſigne ſo contrary to his nature.

The Duke of *Rohan* in the mean time, who was Colonel of the *Switzers*, was commanded away to the ſiege of *Juilliers*, taking with him a Regiment of the *Switzers*, and having the command of the French Army in the abſence of the Marſhal *de la Chaſtre*, who was the Lieutenant General. At his return from this expedition, he finds how cruelly they oppreſſe his Father-in-Law the Duke of *Sully*; and that, after they had taken from him the *Baſtille*, to diſpoſe of the treaſure in it; and his command of the *Finances*, to rob *France* with fuller liberty, they were now reſolved upon his utter deſtruction, ſo to deprive him of all means to reſent ſuch indignities: But ſeeing that it was beyond their skill by any ordinary wayes to blemiſh the adminiſtration of any of his Offices, the Marſhal *Boüillon*, who had infected the Prince of *Conde*, and the Count of *Soiſſons* with the ſame malitious intention, contrived this deſigne for his ruine, *viz.* to procure a General Aſſembly of thoſe of the Religion, which was granted to be held at *Chaſtelleraut* on the five and twentieth of *May*, in the year 1611, in which he promiſed himſelf power enough to cauſe the Duke of *Sully* to be entirely abandoned, ſo that without any fear of thoſe of the Religion, he might be arraigned before Commiſſioners impowered for his trial; and moreover, that by his induſtry he ſhould ſo order the Aſſembly, and all the affairs of the Reformed party, that he ſhould make himſelf the only man conſiderable: To bring this Project to paſſe, he vailes it with a pretence of much affection to thoſe of the Reformation, and large promiſes of an *Amelioration* in their affairs; and communicates it to the Marſhal *de Leſdiguieres*, and *Du Pleſſis Mornay* in particular, by *Bellugeon* an attendant of *Leſdiguieres*, who when he had been with them, returnes with theſe following Inſtructions from *Du Pleſſis*.

1. That the Provinces be exhorted to chooſe for Deputies, the beſt qualified and moſt ſufficient perſons.
2. That beſides thoſe, others of eminency among them, be alſo deſired by letters to that purpoſe to be there.
3. That the Deputies may have power to adhere to the plurality of voices, and that the Aſſembly be not diſſolved, till they have received full ſatisfaction.
4. That the demands of the Provinces be all founded expreſly, or upon conſequentes deduced from the former Edicts and Conceſſions.
5. Amongſt others, that the Edict of *Nantes* be revived again, and obſerved as it was made with us, but ſince abridged in many things without us.
6. That our Grants for the places of ſecurity be made good to us; and the entire number of the Garriſons reſtored us, half of which have been wreſted from us.
7. That the places we have loſt, either by the Governors change of their Religion, or otherwiſe, be alſo given back to us.
8. That all the places of ſecurity be continued to us for ten years at leaſt, and that they be paid quarterly, fully, and upon the place; and that no money be upon any pretence whatſoever, removed from the places of receipt, till the ſaid quarter be ſatisfied.
9. That it may regularly be obtained alſo, and had for proviſions for vacant Governments, conſidering the abuſes which are, and may be there committed, to the prejudice of our ſafety.
10. That we may be permitted to repair and fortifie all ſuch places, as time has thrown into decay, and which for want of reparations will become wholly unuſeful to us: And that complaint be made, that under pretence of theſe Governments, we are refuſed all other Offices and Dignities, contrary to the expreſſe Article of the Edict.
11. That no reſignations of ſuch places of ſecurity be allowed of without the conſent of the Churches, which are therein moſt concerned: The like alſo for Preſidents, and Counſellors of the Chambers.
12. That we may have free liberty as before, to compoſe, print, ſell, and diſperſe all manner of books concerning our Doctrine.
13. That if there be any Town, whoſe place for the exerciſe of their Religion is too remote from it, the King be petitioned to grant one nearer, that being under the eye of the Magiſtrates, they may be leſſe ſubject to the inſolency of the People.

14. That

14. That the Article concerning burying-places, which make way for ſo many Barbariſms, may be reformed.
15. That the Penſions allowed the Churches, conſidering the great number of them, may be augmented.
16. That the Jeſuites may not have any reſidence in our places of ſecurity.
17. That thoſe Preachers and Friers, who teach, that all thoſe who communicate with thoſe of the Reformed Religion, or that ſerve and aſſiſt them, are damned, may be puniſhed, as ſeditious diſturbers of the publick peace, and infringers of the Edicts, by which their Majeſties have publiſhed their intentions, to reunite the affections of their people.
18. That we may be allowed two Maſters of requeſt, to be paid by the King, for the firſt time, and one Notary in every Parliament, or at leaſt in the places of ſecurity, and to be payed by us.
19. That ſome place of ſecurity be demanded, as well in the Provinces where there are none, as where there are many of the Religion. But that it be referred to the prudence of the Aſſembly, to conſider how far this demand be preſſed.
20. That we may have a Grant for a General Aſſembly to be held every two years, for the renewing of our Deputies General.
21. That it be expreſly ſpecified, that we may have two Deputies General in Ordinary at Court at the Kings charges, but to be nominated by the Aſſembly.
22. That the Provincial Deputies may addreſſe themſelves to the Deputies General without any previous applications to be made to the Governours of the Provinces.

Theſe Inſtructions were ſent abroad among the Provinces, where every one according to the extent of his power, and credit got them received, and reſolved on. The aimes of theſe Gentlemen were diverſe; that of *Du Pleſſis* was ſincere, that of the Marſhal *Eſdiguieres* (as the whole courſe of his life has diſcovered) tended only to his own intereſt; as alſo that of the Marſhal *Boüillon*, who made uſe of the power of others to convert all to his own advantage: For having filled the Provinces with hopes of bettering their condition, and made them enter into moſt ſtrict reſolutions for that end, diſcovers all at Court, ſhews them to *Villeroy*, and to the Embaſſadors of *England* and *Holland*, to whom he alſo pretended much zeal for the Reformed Religion: And after this takes a journey to *Sedan*, that he might the better give the Court leiſure

to foster fears of the issue of this Assembly, and finde out meanes to render it ineffectual: His desires in this met a wished successe; for at his return he treated fully with *Villeroy*, and having made his conditions for the Government of *Poictou*, worth three hundred thousand Livers, either for himself, or to be disposed of as he should order, and a hundred thousand Livers augmentation upon the Taxes of the common people, which by his appointment were disposed to several particular persons; he promises to change all the resolutions of the Assembly, and give it such an issue, as should highly content the Queen; which he confirmed by an irrefragable Testimony; for revisiting the aforesaid Embassadours, and particularly *Arsens*, he begins a discourse concerning those of the Reformation, quite contrary to his former before his Voyage to *Sedan*, *viz.* That during the Kings Minority they were better entertain a little patience, than thoughts of bettering their condition. and by that means justly purchase the Kings favour; that for his part he went to the Assembly with thoughts tending only to peace, and wholly bent to endeavour a submission of all to the pleasure of the Court. This much astonished *Arsens*, who conceived now that his composition was made, which he dissembled not at all to his friends: When he had made this progress, his favourites and creatures seconded it with discourses of the same nature, the better at a distance to dispose the people to a compliance with his desires: And because *Chastelleraut* was within the Government of the Duke of *Sully*, whose ruine he thirsted after, he caused the Assembly to adjourn from thence to *Saumure*, the government of *Du Plessis*, that he might the more oblige him to a conjunction with him.

Before the Session of the Assembly, he informs *Du Plessis* by several persons of quality that he would not be President of it; that though they elected him, yet would he not accept of the charge, and that it was his desire, he should impart this his resolution to all he should see; for that he thought it very improper for any of the great ones to undertake it. This extreamely pleased them all, especially the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Sully*, who now cast their eyes upon *Du Plessis*, and assured him that they would carry it for him: But the Marshal *Bouillon*, coming the last of all, and after they had waited for him a day beyond the time prefixed, (though not without much murmurings, for that his mischievous designes began now to be discovered) visits *Du Plessis*, and tells him, that notwithstanding what had been said concerning the Presidentship, he now desired their nomination, for that he knew the Duke of *Sully* had with much boasting threatened to prevent him of it; that it was a thing that his many ser-

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vices to the Party had merited of them; and that in case they refused him the honour, he would be gone the next morning. This change of his minde wrought no alteration at all in the resolutions of the Dukes, who found the greatest part of the Provinces disposed to their inclinations; so that whatever suit or parties the Marshal *Boüillon* could make, he had the voices but of six Provinces, and *Du Plessis* of ten; who when he took his place, had *Chamier* a Minister, chosen for his assistant, and *Desbordes Mercier* for Secretary. This election so nettled *De Boüillon*, that returning to his Lodging he brake forth into words of disgust, and threats of vengeance against all those that had hindred him of the Presidentship; finding well by this Essay, that he was now like to faile of all he had promised himself from the Assembly: However, obliged both by prudence, and the importunate solicitations of those that were equally friends to them both, he reconciled himself to the Duke of *Sully*, whom he had before declared to be his greatest enemy.

The first thing the Assembly took into their consideration, was the disorder committed at *Chastillon*, contrary to the expres Orders of the Marshal *Boüillon* and the *Sieur Frere* Commissioners appointed by the King for that particular affaire, for which the Marshal pretended so high a displeasure, that having dispatch'd thither *Beauchamp*, one of his Gentlemen, to enquire into the truth of the matter, he declared as his opinion, that it was fit the Assembly should choose *Senas* for their Deputy, to be sent to the Court with full instructions, and a strict charge to declare, That they would not treat of any thing with the Kings Commissioners, before reparation were made for that wrong: But that violent heat quickly abated; for he presently excused himself from medling any further in it, because his Commission was expired.

After this the Kings Commissioners had audience, who in all their discourses pretended, that the preservation of those of the Reformed Religion was involved with, and necessary to that of the State, assuring them of their Majesties favour, that they would graciously receive all their Remonstrances and Petitions, cause their Edicts and Concessions to be observed, put those that had hitherto been neglected, in execution; and interpret to their advantage, what was obscure in them. And lastly, That they left it to the choice of the Assembly, either to put their Papers into their hands, or send them to the Court, protesting, that which way soever they took, they should have a quick and favourable dispatch.

From these fair promises sprung no less fair hopes; and according

cording to the instructions of the Provinces, were their papers prepared; the Marshal *Bouillon* not opposing one Article, having been the Author of those Propositions, which were put into the hands of *Lusignan*, *Aubigny*, and the other Deputies to exhibite the principal points of them to the Kings Commissioners, who, after some debate declared, that they had not power to determine any thing concerning them: But going to the Assembly, advised them to make their addresses by Deputies to the King, to whom they would do them all good Offices; which was concluded on. At the election of the Deputies, there happened a great stirre, occasioned by the opposition of contrary factions, which made the Assembly resolve not to draw up their Instructions and Commissions, before their nomination; that so they might either inlarge or restraine them according to the conditions of the persons chosen, who were *La Case*, *Courtaumer*, *Ferrier* the Minister, *Mirande* and *Armet*, who had no power to conclude any thing, but only to debate the propositions; and having explained them, to give an account of all to the Assembly, who would return them their resolutions thereupon: This restriction pleased not all the Deputies, much less the Marshal *Bouillon*, who now plainly perceived, that his design was broken.

While they were preparing their papers, there fell out two particular things worthy the observing. The first was on the several oppositions the Marshal *Bouillon* made to an Article, which the Duke of *Sully* as earnestly pressed, *viz.* That the Assembly should interess themselves in his cause, for that they endeavoured to deprive him of his offices for no other cause, but of his Religion, in which the Marshal proceeded so farre, as an attempt to make the son renounce his Obligations to his Father-in-law, which he violently pursued; especially one time going to visit him being sick, telling him that it was impossible, but that in the administration of those great charges he had borne, especially in that of the *Finances*, when he was Comptroler of the Exchequer, there should be found some faults committed; though not by him, yet by his Officers and Servants; and that if the King should issue out a Commission to examine his actions, neither the Assembly, nor any other of the Reformed Religion ought to be offended at it; no, though the Commissioners should do him wrong, since it would be by the ordinary wayes of Justice that he received it, and that he thought the Duke of *Robin* so honest a man, a true *French* man, and so great a friend to peace, that he would be nothing moved at it. This speech was but ill-received, and no better answered by the Duke, who told him, that the Duke of *Sully's* important services deserved a better recompence, than to be exposed,

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as a prey to thoſe that had diſſerved the State; that his actions in diſcharge of his Offices, free from all corruption, and miſdemeanour, could not, by reaſon of his qualitie, be inquired into, but by a Court of Peers; and that if he were otherwiſe dealt withal, all his kindred, and eſpecially he, his ſon in Law, with all their friends, would engage in his cauſe; ſo that after ſeveral Seſſions, the Aſſembly proceeding to a determination of that Article, ſo much urged by the Provinces alſo, adviſed the Duke of *Sully* not to accept of money in lieu of his Offices, and eſpecially, not to quit that of Grand Maſter of the Artillery, promiſing withal, that if for that end they ſhould uſe any undue, unlawful, and extraordinary procedures againſt him, they would publickly Declare that they looked on the Duke of *Sully's*, as the ſame with the general intereſt of the Churches, and of Juſtice; and that therefore they were reſolved by all juſt and lawful means to aſſiſt him: And of this the Deputies general had an expreſs charge given them in their inſtructions.

The other was concerning *Bertichere*, one of the Deputies for the lower *Languedoc*, a Gentleman of quality, and of good parts, who in the raign of the late King, who was diſpleaſed at him, by reaſon of his practices, and intelligence with the Conſtable *Montmorency* Governour of that Province, was ſomewhat unhandſomely turn'd out of his governments of *Sommieres*, and *Aiguemortes*; to which having in vaine ſought to be reſtored, he conceived this a favourable opportunity to make the Aſſembly embrace his cauſe, for that they were both places of ſecurity; and, though they were in the hands of Gentlemen of the ſame Religion, yet he preſumed they were perſons, that had not given ſo great Teſtimonies of their zeale for the good of the Churches, as he had done; and that though he had been conſtrained to accept of a recompence for his Command, yet was it only for that of *Sommiers*; but for *Aiguemortes* he never received any thing; and that ſince his ſervices to their party had drawn upon him this prejudice, it was but reaſon that they ſhould own the Juſtice of his Cauſe: And forasmuch as he had brought with him Writings to verifie what he alledged, he moved the Aſſembly to appoint Commiſſioners to examine them, and make their report to them, that they might conſider of them.

It is to be obſerved that this *Bertichere* made a great profeſſion of friendſhip to the Duke of *Sully*, who had done him many good Offices to the late King, ſo that he deſired ſome of his chiefeſt friends for Commiſſioners, who made ſo favourable a report of his buſineſs to the Aſſembly, that in ſpight of the oppoſition made by the Duke of *Bouillon*, who ſtood for *Arembures*, to whom

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the Government of *Aiguemortes* was given, it was so well received by the Assembly, that the Deputies residing at the Court, were commanded to use all diligence in his behalf, it being a thing of general concernment, and of great consequence. When he had obtained this, he goes to the Court, where he steers a new course, and to arrive at his aimes, promises most powerfully to assist the Court-party, upheld by the Duke of *Bouillon*, in the Assembly, and by this means got a quick and satisfactory dispatch for his re-entry into *Aiguemortes*: Moreover in this journey he made the Constable his friend, who embraced his cause with the same fervour, as if it had been his own proper concernment, and then returned to the Assembly: The issue of this affair shall be seen in its proper place: But let us now return to the general affairs.

When the Deputies of the Assembly were come to the Court, their first dispatch thence brought news of their fair reception, especially by the Queen, (who commanded them to put their papers into the hands of *Boissise*, and *Bullion*, Counsellors of State) and of the favourable answers they had at several audiences received from the Council; But this was soon clouded by another message from them quite contrary to the former, which informed the Assembly, that the promise to have their Propositions answered, and returned into their hands, was now interpreted to be after the nomination of the Deputies general, and dissolution of the Assembly: This highly displeased them who had already divulged among the Provinces, the good hopes they conceived from the first intelligence the Deputies gave them: But, forasmuch as it was a thing contrary to the use and custome of the Kings Council, in affaires of all sorts to send back the Deputies unanswered; and that in all their discourses with them there was no mention of any such conditions, the Assembly unanimously resolve not to dissolve before they had received an answer to their Articles; which the Marshal *Bouillon* seem'd to approve of, and promised his utmost assistance to procure them a handsome returne concerning it.

But there was a great difference between the Letter, he shewed the Assembly, and that which he sent away, which intimated his opinion, that at least some of them should see the answers to their Propositions before their dissolution: But the assiduous endeavors of the Deputies proving ineffectual, they returned to *Saumure*, where *Ferrier* in the name of all the rest, made a relation of the particulars of their whole voyage, by which they perceived that *Bullion* was coming after with their Propositions answered; but that before his arrival their Majesties desired the Deputies general might be nominated; which notwithstanding was suspended.

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When *Bullion* came, he confirmed what the Deputies had reported, proteſted to many upon his damnation, that the Propoſitions were moſt favourably anſwered; terrifies ſome with threats, whiles he fills others with hopes; and to encreaſe both their feares, and hopes, he ſhews the Patents he brought with him for the augmenting the penſions of *Parabere*, and others, and the Orders to cancel thoſe of the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubize*. The Marſhal *Boüillon* for his part, employes all his Art to winne the Deputies of the Aſſembly by hopes of a general deputation, and by the power he had to diſpoſe of the Tax impoſed upon the common people now raiſed to an hundred thouſand Livers more, the better to enable him to corrupt more men: The reſolution alſo of the Aſſembly to ſend new petitions to their Majeſties, that they might receive their anſwers before they diſſolved, gave him an opportunity to play the notable Polititian: For though there was a very good underſtanding between the Marſhal *Boüillon* and *Bullion*, yet pretended they a difference in their opinions; the one aſſuring them, that it would be but loſt labour to importune the Court any more; the other encouraging them to it with promiſes of good ſucceſſe; but his chief deſign was to weary ſome with delayes, that he might have the better opportunity to draw others to his party; and in the mean time covered all his projects with a pretence of zeale, that the ſimpler ſort having leſs ſuſpicion of him, might the more eaſily be intrapped; But failing in this attempt, he reſolved with *Bullion* and his friends, to perſwade their Majeſties to write a letter (of which he ſent them a draught) peremptorily commanding the Aſſembly to diſſolve, revoking the Licence granted for their meeting, and declaring null all their paſt or future Acts: And foraſmuch as their Majeſties were informed, that all the Deputies did not agree in this obſtinacy and diſobedience, they commanded thoſe Deputies that would obey to proceed among themſelves to the election of ſix Deputies, who ſhould receive from the hands of *Bullion* the propoſitions with their anſwers; which Letter was to be brought by one, that knew well enough how to play his Game. *Bellugeon* the Marſhal *Leſdiguieres* his Agent, was made choice of for this employment, a fit Inſtrument to execute ſuch a Commiſſion, being a crafty fellow, void both of honor and honeſty, whoſe ſubtle pate was alwayes buſied about things conducing only to his own advantage.

Before he began this goodly journey, he takes his leave of the Aſſembly, falſly pretending, it was only to ſee his friends and kinred in *Berry*, and then goes out of the Town upon an ordinary Hackny, but ſoon after takes poſt: which being certified to the Aſſembly, as alſo his treacherous practices at *Paris*, together

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with the calumnies he aſperſed the Duke of *Rohan*, and his friends withal, he was by them declared unworthy to be re-admitted to this, and for the future to any other Aſſembly: But foraſmuch as he had the honour of being a ſervant to the Marſhal *Leſdiguieres*, they referred his further doom to him. This cenſure infinitely vexed the Marſhal *Bouillon*, who employed all the power he had to get it revoked, declaring that it was by his command that he had undertaken this journey, but all in vain; which ſo incenſed him againſt the Duke of *Rohan*, that they forbore to ſpeak one to the other for a long time after.

It was not long before the effects of this voyage were ſeen; for the Letter for their diſſolution contrived at *Saumure*, but diſpatched from the Court, came, and ſoon after *Bellugeon*, who declared that they ſhould now receive full ſatisfaction: But when the Marſhal *Bouillon* went up to the Caſtle, and ſhewed the Letter to *Du Pleſſis*, and *La Force*, endeavouring to gain their approbation of it, and the contents of it were fully underſtood by them, then were they filled with amazement and diſpleaſure; which *Bouillon* perceiving, he thought it convenient that *Du Pleſſis* ſhould impart the ſubſtance of it, to ſuch of the Aſſembly as he thought fit, that together they might contrive ſome means to compoſe all differences. *Bullion* alſo promiſes to deferre the delivery of the Letter, out of a ſeeming deſire to ſeek out ſome way for an accomodation; and to that end deſires a conference with *Du Pleſſis*, which being yielded unto, after ſome diſcourſe, they agreed that in caſe they ſhould proceed to a nomination of ſix Deputies, and reſt ſatisfied with the anſwers were given them, he (although he had no Commiſſion for it) ſhould undertake to procure them ſatisfaction from their Majeſties upon the foure or five principal Articles, as, concerning the Chamber of Edicts at *Paris*, Proviſion for Vacant places, the payment of the remaining part of Nine ſcore thouſand Crowns, and the reſtoring of thoſe places of ſecurity were taken from us; and all this to be done before the diſſolution of the Aſſembly; to which as *Du Pleſſis* was ready to make his report of this conference; *Bullion* ſent him word, that he was informed, and that by very good intelligence, that there were ſome, who intended to take advantage of his diſcourſes the day before; wherefore he retracted them, and deſired he might be permitted to go into the Aſſembly to have the *Queenes* Letter read, and diſcharge his duty to the Commands he had received from Her.

This ſudden change clearly diſcovered, that the end of this conference was only to amuſe the honeſt party in the Aſſembly, the better to ſurprize them before any thing was agreed on, or that they

they were prepared for what they were to do, either in order to their diſſolution, or the Deputation, and cheat them of the thanks and benefit of their paines: But both *Bouillon* and *Bullion* too, were not a little diſmayed when they ſaw, that when upon the reading of the Letter *Bertichéres* roſe up, and ſaid, That for his part, he would obey, and that it was fit that thoſe that were of his opinion ſhould likewiſe declare themſelves; all of them with one voice cryed out, that they were more reſolved upon obedience than he, but that the buſineſſe ſhould be further diſcuſſed, when the Commiſſioner was withdrawn, which was accordingly done.

But here it is to be obſerved, that notice being taken of the conſultations which were commonly held night and day in the Marſhal *Bouillon's* Lodgings, by five and twenty of the Aſſembly (which were all he could draw to a confederacy with him) where *Bullion* alſo was often preſent, the reſt of the Aſſembly, to the number of fifty, with one conſent conceived it fitter to yield to the neceſſity of the times, than to make a diviſion, which would inevitably force them to accept for Deputies general, perſons wholly devoted to the Court faction, and that they were better ſeek out ſome other way to redreſs their evils.

The Marſhal *Bouillon* perceiving that the reſolutions taken up by his *Antagoniſts*, had fruſtrated his hopes of procuring ſome creatures of his own to be choſen Deputies general, makes his applications by *Proxy*, to the Duke of *Rohan*, for his conſent to the reſtoring againe of *Bellugeon*, and ſharing the Deputation general between them two; In which the Duke of *Sully* alſo intereſſed himſelf, and ſo farre prevailed with the Duke of *Rohan*, that he cauſed an interview between them at his Lodgings, where the Marſhal entreated him to abate his rigour towards *Bellugeon*, which he promiſed him to do: But as for ſharing the Deputation, he was ſo averſe from the very mention of it, that at the meeting on the day appointed for their election, the Duke of *Sully* openly blamed him for his obſtinacy, telling him that he would ruine all by his wilfulneſs: But the iſſue diſcovered the contrary: For having aſſured himſelf of ten Provinces, he makes them agree to elect the ſix Deputies that ſhould be nominated by the Miniſters of thoſe provinces; which ſucceeded according as he had deſigned it; for not one of thoſe the Marſhal would have promoted (to his extream diſcontent) were ſo much as named. Thoſe that were choſen, were *Montbrun*, *Berthéville*, and *Rouvray* for the Nobility; and *Manlald*, *Boiſſeul*, and *Milletiere*, for the Communalty: As for *Bellugeon*, though the Duke of *Rohan* no more oppoſed him, yet was there much difficulty to revoke his cenſure; many

ny times was it debated; at length, when a good part of the Assembly were risen, those that remained, razed it out of their Records: The Regulations for the Assembly were signed also, but the Marshal entred a Protestation under his hand and seal, not to acknowledge the Ministers for a third estate, or order.

And hence sprang the Original of all our mischiefs and divisions; For the Marshal takes his journey to the Court, to receive a recompence for his services, and revenge himself upon all those that had opposed his designs, principally the Duke of *Rohan*, who feared him least, and had withstood him most of any; wherefore he layes a plot to out him of his Town of *Saint John d' Angely*, of which he was Governour, and place therein *La Roche-beaucourt* the King's Lieutenant in his roome, alledging, that if he were once deprived of that retreat, he would be unable to attempt any thing: On the other side, the Duke of *Rohan*, and his brother, at a Consultation held at *Saumure* before their departure thence, with those that were of their opinion, concluded that every one of them should give their respective Provinces an account of what had passed, and instigate them by particular Deputies to the Court, to make new Remonstrances of their aggrievances, which they so happily performed, that in spight of the contradictions of the Commissioners appointed for the execution of the Edict, the years following there came to *Paris* Deputies from twelve Provinces.

In the mean while the Duke of *Rohan* goes to divert himself at his houses in *Britany*, and so to the Assembly of Estates of that Province; At his return from thence he was informed of the conspiracies laid at *Saint Johns* in prejudice of his authority; to discover which, and also to apply convenient preventions, he sends thither *Haulte Fontaine*, from whom receiving advice of the necessity of his presence, he hasts thither with all speed, and as he passed through *Poictou*, gave his friends intelligence of all, and sent *Loudriere* to *Rochel*.

His unexpected arrival much daunted his enemies, who nevertheless sent for *Roch-beaucourt* to come speedily to their relief; but the Duke of *Rohan*'s friends, flocking in every moment, grew to such a number, as that *Roche-beaucourt* durst not stir, but contented himself with giving the Court an account of what passed: Upon which information the King dispatches away *La Fontaine* to the Duke, in appearance to know what was the matter, but in effect to confirm by letters, and encourage the *Partisans* of *Roche-beaucourt*, which the Duke, having treated him nobly, learnt out of *La Fontaine*, whom he returned with a faithful promise to wait upon their Majesties, with a free account of all his actions, upon their first commands, which within a few dayes after he received;

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And presently sets forward to the Court, taking with him, among others, *Roche-beaucourt*, and *Faucault*, whom he greatly suspected; and leaving in Saint *John Haulte Fontaine* with all necessary Orders and Instructions, that at his return, he might not finde his own gates shut against him. Being arrived at Court, he shewed the Queen by several instances, that he had behaved himself like an honest man at the Assembly of *Saumure*, and that he had opposed the Marshal *Boüillon*, for that he knew, that he took part with those of the Reformed Religion, for no other end, but to advance his own Interests, and render himself more considerable both of the one side, and the other; and that had he compassed his designes, she would have been the first would have felt the effects of his arrogance: But there were no eares open to his justification, (it being the constant humour of Princes not easily to be reasoned out of opinions, they have been prepossessed withal) so that seeing the time for the Election of a new Major for the Town of *Saint John* drew near, and that his abode at Court was to no purpose, he pretended that his brother was sick, upon which having got leave to be gone, he took post that very night; which fell out well for him; For the Marshal *Boüillon* having notice the next day of his departure, was very earnest to have him pursued, and brought back again; but he made such haste, as it was impossible to overtake him.

As he passed by *Parc* in the lower *Poictou*, he took *Soubize* along with him, advertised his friends in *Poicton* of what had happened, and went to *Saint John*, whither *Foucault*, a Captain of the Garrison, whom he had taken with him to *Paris*, being sent away from the Court, was come before him, and had secretly assembled the Major and some others of that *Cabal*, to out the Duke of the Government, and for that end offered them two thousand men; which the Duke having notice of, presently upon his arrival at *Saint John*, he commanded *Foucault*, who was then about three or four leagues thence, to return thither no more, and at the same instant sent away *Tenis* to their Majesties, to informe them of the just cause he had, not to allow the said *Foucault* any more accesse to *Saint John*.

The time for the Election of the Major being at hand, which is alwayes the Sunday before *Palme Sunday*, comes *Claverie* from the Court with an expres, which signified, that by reason of the divisions of the Town, it was the Kings pleasure, for the repose of it, and the avoiding of factions there, that the old Major should be continued, and that this precedent should not for the future any way impair the Priviledges of the Town; whereupon the Duke of *Rohan* remonstrates to his Majesty, how that he was mis-informed of the

the condition of the Town, and of what conſequence it was, both to his ſervice, and the publick peace, that, according to their ancient cuſtome, they ſhould proceed to Election of a new Major, hoping that this would be aſſented to, and for that reaſon ſent their Secretary with this letter to the Court.

Now the Marſhall *Boüillon* rightly imagining, that the Duke of *Rohan* would oppoſe the continuation of the old Major, as a thing highly prejudicial to him, engaged the Royal authority in it to the uttermoſt, that ſo he might either ruine him by his voluntary ſubmiſſion, or by obliging the King to force him to a complyance. So that two dayes after the arrival of *Claverie* comes *Saint Mal* a younger brother of *Montauzier*, and brother in law to *Roch-beüil court* with another, and ſtricter expreſſe to the ſame purpoſe: But the Duke of *Rohan* knowing, that his own ruine would aſſuredly be the conſequence of the loſſe of *Saint John*, conceived it leaſt dangerous for him to ſecure the Town, and feared not to refuſe all thoſe Orders as prejudicial to the King's ſervice, and to proceed to the Election of a new Major, according to the uſual cuſtome of the Town, out of three of the Corporation, whoſe names were ſent by Deputies, conſtituted for that purpoſe, to his Majeſty, to make choice of which of them he pleaſed; and for the ſecurity of the place, the Keys were, in the interim, put into the hands of the firſt Alderman.

The report of theſe things cauſed a great buſtle at Court; *Tenis*, and *Onglepied*, whom the Duke ſome few dayes before, had ſent thither, were committed priſoners to the *Baſtille*; his mother, wife, and ſiſters were forbid to go out of *Paris*; and Propoſitions were alſo made of drawing down an Army to beſiege him; On the otherſide the Duke, well knowing the power of his enemies at Court, and that he was to expect a violent perſecution from them, took great care to make all thoſe of the Reformed Religion in *France* ſenſible, that the hatred conceived againſt him, was occaſioned only by the reſolution and conſtancy he had ſhewed to the good of their affairs; that his, and the loſſe of *St. John*, would draw after them their deſtruction alſo; that if their adverſaries found this eaſily accompliſhable, they would not ſtop their courſe in ſo fair a roade; and then prepares himſelf the beſt he could to make a brave reſiſtance. But at length when all things were more maturely deliberated, the King's Council thought fitter to commit this buſineſſe to a Treaty, and *Themines* was ſent to the Duke to determinate the difference in a peaceable way: The reſult of his negotiation was, That, for eight dayes the Keyes of the Town ſhould be left in the hands of the old Major, that they ſhould proceed to the nomination of three, out of which the King ſhould

make

make choice of one; and, that after this Election *Roche-beaucourt* and *Foucault* should be permitted to return again to execute their charges, provided, notwithstanding that the latter should presently quit the Town again.

Themines sent this agreement to the Court, where at first it was well enough liked of; but when it was communicated to, and scanned by the Dukes enemies, it could by no means be approved of: But *Themines* had orders sent him, to insist upon the return of *Roche-beaucourt* and *Foucault*, before the new Election, which the Duke of *Rohan* consented to; and thus, for the present, was mitigated the heat of this affair, though the persecutions against the Duke of *Rohan* and his party continued in their former violence; especially at Court, where the Marshal *Bouillon* endeavoured, first to corrupt the Deputies, then to make divisions among them; and last of all to destroy their authority: And when the Provinces sent their Deputies to the Court to remonstrate their resentments of the ill impressions were given their Majesties of their loyalty, to vindicate themselves from the calumnies vented against them, and to obtain a grant of all their just demands, so necessary to their subsistence: The Marshal *Bouillon* perceiving, that neither his confederacies in the Provinces, nor the Commissioners purposely sent in to them, could hinder the deputations, turns now his whole endeavours to render their Negotiation fruitless, alledging, that it was a diminution of the Kings authority to give audience to an Assembly convened against his will; that, if their requests were yeilded to, and satisfaction given them that way, it would disgust the loyal part of his subjects, and reunite the now disjoyned Provinces with the Complainants; and openly discovering also great displeasure, that they should repay all his services with slights, and envie; imputing unto him, upon all occasions, what ever mischief befel them: So that, though he could not prevent their audience, he frustrated the contentment they hoped thence, telling the Deputies general freely, that what he did, was in revenge of the affronts he received from the Assembly at *Saumure*.

These things passing thus, the Marshal *Bouillon* continues his ill offices to the interests of those of the Reformed Religion in general, and those of the Duke of *Rohan* in particular; and having obtain'd the Ambassadorship extraordinary for *England*, to get the alliance with *Spaine* approved of there, feeds himself also with hopes by the means of that imployment, there to procure a dislike of the actions of the Assembly of *Saumure*: But the Duke of *Rohan* found an opportunity, by a Gentleman that attended on the Marshal in the voyage, to give the King of *England* a true information of all things; so that as to that particular, the answer

he received, was, that if the Queen should be induced to infri
the Edicts made in favour of those of the Reformed Religion,
that it were manifest, that they were persecuted for their Religi
sake; his Majesty required, in that case, that neither the Lea
lately made with *France*, nor his present confirmation of the sam
should be understood to their prejudice: For Nature teaches ev
ry one, when he sees his neighbour assaulted for a quarrel which
lates to himself, to foresee what he may expect from the issue of
As for his part, the King of *England* exhorted the Marshal to a
conciliation with the Duke of *Rohan*, to whom also he intimat
his pleasure in that particular: In reference to which, the Na
tional Synod then held at *Privas*, endeavoured it also, and for th
end, besides the Deputies general, chose *Du Moulin*, and *Duran*
Ministers, and *L'isle-grosot* an Elder, whose care and pains in
were so effectual, that the sixteenth of *August*, in the year 1621. the
Marshals *Bouillon*, and *Lesdeguieres* signed these ensuing Articles,
viz. *That they would hearken to a sincere reunion, promising to
submit their own particular interests to the common welfare of
those of the Reformed Religion, by an Oblivion of all past in-
juries: That they would freely renounce all resentments, and an-
mosities against any persons, and for what cause soever: That
they would love and honour every one according to his ranke and
quality, giving them upon all occasions, all testimonies of friend-
ship, as far as the duty of true Christians, and faithful Subjects
of the King should oblige and permit them.* They farther also
protested, *that they desired nothing more, than by a firm Union
and concord to see the Kingdom of God advanced, and the
Churches flourish in a happy peace, under the obedience of
his Majesty; and, moreover, to imploy all their power, that the
authority of the Synods be not invalidated, nor the Discipline
infringed; and that they would not favour, nor any wayes as-
sist any particular persons or Churches, that by unjust or preju-
dicial means should separate from the Union, and conformity to
the Doctrine and Discipline received in the Churches.* This Pro-
testation was also signed by the Dukes of *Rohan*, *Sully*, and *Sou-
bize*, *La Force*, and *Du Plessis*; to which they desired might be ad-
ded these following Articles; viz. *To cause this Act to be signed
by the Governours of all places of security, and other persons of
consideration in the Provinces, and that by the way of Conse-
quence; and, that a Clause might be inserted, by which they should
oblige themselves to observe, as well all Politique, as Ecclesiasti-
cal order, and to restore and confirm the authority of the Deputies
general in their charges.*

But for all these goodly appearances, the persecutions against
those

those of the Religion, and the Duke of *Rohan*, ceased not; which enforced them at last, upon the grievances of the Province of *Xaintonge* to call an Assembly of five Provinces, according to the regulation of the Assembly of *Saumure*.

Whiles these things were a doing, there hapned a new accident, which hastned the Assembly: *Bertichieres*, supported with the power of the Constable, the Decree of the Assembly of *Saumure*, and the favor of the Court, would needs repossesse his government of *Aigue-mortes*: But the Province, advertised of his demeanour by *Saugeon* (whom the Duke had sent thither purposely with a character of him) so ordered that affair, that, in spight of the Constable, they maintained *Arembures* in it, and kept *Bertichieres* out; which so incensed him, that he made *Saugeon* a prisoner at *Ville-franche* in *Roüergue*, which was more than he could do in his own government. When the Duke of *Rohan*, and the Province of *Xaintonge* heard this, they avowed the voyage, and owned the cause of *Saugeon*: The Assembly also met at *Rochel*, notwithstanding the ill usage, and traverses occasioned them by the Marshal *Boüillon*, who showed himself more their enemy, than all the Kings Council beside (notwithstanding his engagement passed to the King of *England*, and the Deputies of the National Synod) and instigated the Clergy of *France* to go to the *Quern*, and hinder her giving any favourable answers to those of the Religion, supposing that such rigor would force them upon extremities, & would make them appear guilty of a desire of war, and give him an occasion to interpose as a mediator for them at Court; that so, he might render himself useful to both parties, and whatever happened, still make up his own reckoning.

On the other side, *Du Plessis* tired with these persecutions, from which he himself was not exempted, and fearing what the issue of these disturbances would be, interposes for the composing of them, and comes to *Rochel* accompanied with *Rouvray*, one of the Deputies general, and brother to his son in law, bringing with him a draught of some Articles, not signed: But the successe of his negotiation, not answering his expectation, he withdrew again, and with him, the Province of *Anjou*, (one of the five assembled) Nevertheless, the other four continued well united, and by Messengers, desired the Duke of *Rohan*'s presence at *Rochel*, to consult with them about what was to be done: When he came, it was resolved, that they should send a Gentleman to the *Queen*, in the name of the Provinces, to accept, for the present, the offers had been made them, referring the pursuance of the rest to the Deputies general. But hearing, in the mean time, of the commotions at the Court, of a bold action committed in the assassination of

the Baron *de Luz*, to the great displeasure of the Queen, and violation of her authority; the Assembly took the boldness to send *Le Parc*, d' *Archiat*, and *Cressonniere* to their Majesties, with protestations of their loyalty, and offers of their service, choosing rather to submit to their pleasures in accepting the offers made them, than to augment the present troubles by their importunities: *Bissay* also made a Speech to the same effect, in the behalf of the Duke of *Rohan*; and all were well received at Court: Thus ended this Assembly, which though continually traversed, as is before related, brought more benefit to the Publick, and comfort to the Duke of *Rohan*, than that of *Saumure*.

The *Articles* agreed on (and pretty well observed) were;

1. That the King's Attorneys should have Orders to receive the Attestations of the Ministers, without compelling them to add the Epithet, *Pretended*, to the Reformed Religion.
2. That the Ecclesiastical persons should be permitted the enjoyment of the same liberty, they had in the raign of the late King.
3. That they have a Toleration of Provincial Councils, for the ordering of their Politick affairs, as in the late Kings time.
4. That the Ministers, as well as other Ecclesiastical persons in *France*, may be exempted from the payment of all Taxes and Subsidies, and that all necessary provisions to this effect, be given them.
5. That all the Edicts be published anew, together with a Declaration, confirming all Grants, Favours, and Concessions of the late King, with an Act of Oblivion, and a Decree, that all proceedings commenced against those of the Reformed Religion become null, and as if they had never been.
6. That the Inhabitants of *Rochel* be permitted to enquire into the occasion of what hapned at *Couldray*; and be also freed from the jealousies they may justly derive from the two near approach of the Ships, and that, to that end, they be commanded to ride farther from the shore.
7. That the Remonstrances of the lower *Languedoc* be received concerning *Aiguemortes*; that provision be made for it; and that, in the mean time, the place be committed to the care of *Chastillon*.
8. That the razing of *Vessieres* be suspended, and the Remonstrances of the Province of *Languedoc*, concerning that particular, be received.

9. That

9. That nothing be changed in the *Mas d' Agenois* in the lower *Guienne*, and that *La Vessiere* be replaced there.
10. That the Count of *Paniau* be desired by letter, to continue the Captain *Pre* in his command under him, in *Mansiete*.
11. That the troops which are in *Xaintonge*, *Poictou*, and the places adjacent, be removed.
12. That *Roche-beaucourt*, and *Foucault*, be sent out of *Saint John*.
13. That the one of their Companies shall be given to the Duke of *Rohan*, and the other to the King's Lieutenant, which shall be placed there, in the place of *La Roche-beaucourt*, but with the approbation and good-liking of the Duke of *Rohan*.
14. That the Office of Serjeant Major of the place becoming void, either by death, or demission of the Officer, it shall be supplyed as the Duke shall please.
15. That the pensions of the Dukes of *Rohan*, and *Soubize*, shall be paid, both the arreares, and what shall for the future accrue.
16. That no violence be done to the friends or servants of the Duke of *Rohan*; that those that had pensions shall receive them, as before the Assembly of *Saumure*; and that no injury be done to the Baron *de Saugeon*, but that he be restored to his liberty.

Whiles the Court raised these tempests in the Provinces, it self was not free from commotions. The Marshal *d' Ancre*, who had ingrossed the whole favour of the Queen, bred, and cherished divisions among the great ones, lest their union should obstruct his advancement; so equally ballancing all parties, that neither could over-poise the other, and continually fomenting envie and jealousies among them, lest their reconciliation should prove his ruine: They on the other side suffering themselves to be hurried on by the violence of passion, rather than led by the calmer conduct of reason, so that all the Princes of the blood were seen in opposition one against the other, and those also of the house of *Lorraine*, according as their present enjoyments, or hopes of future favour moved them: But at length the Prince of *Conde* upon the Queens refusal to give him *Chasteau Trompette*, raised a party of discontents, under pretence of reforming the disorders in the government of the State; The Marshal *Boüillon* the main contriver of this Party, managed it with such artifice, that he caused the Prince, the Dukes of *Longueville*, *Nevers*, *Maine*, and others, to absent themselves from the Court, whom he himself followed the last of all, and with the Queens consent too, upon the hopes he had given

ther of reducing all those Princes; And with such dexterity han dled he the affair, that he became both the Author and compos of it; in which there was one very remarkable thing to be ta ken notice of, which was, that he imparted the whole businesse to th knowledge of the Duke of *Rohan*'s most faithful friends, and con cealed it from his own, whom in other things he had always tru sted; for that he very well knew the corruption and falshoode the one, and the integrity and fidelity of the other.

The Prince with his Partisans retired to *Mezieres*, a Town be longing to the Duke of *Nevers*, near *Sedan*; The Duke of *Main* who was Governour of the Isle of *France*, with the Towns of *Soiſ sons*, *Noyon*, and the Castle of *Pierrefons*; the Marqueſſe *de Cevi res* with *Laon*; all very considerable places, together with the Duke of *Longueville*, Governour of *Picardy*, with all the friends and servants they could muster in their governments joyning in the frontires of *Germany*, and *Flanders*, with the rest of the dis contents in *France*, made up a very formidable party; to which I shall not adde, that upon the retaining of these Male-contents from the Court, the Duke of *Vendoſme* being apprehended in the *Louvre*, and there detained prisoner; a few dayes after made his escape, and got into *Britany* his own government, where he made great preparations also.

Things being in this condition, the *Prince* writes a letter to the *Queen*, whose contents were nothing but complaints of the disor ders committed in the State under her authority; that the Prin ces of the blood, Dukes, Peers, and Officers of the Crown were excluded from the Publick affairs, which were managed by three or four only, who to maintain their own height, sowed division among the Nobility, lavishing the treasures, and at their plea sure, disposing of them, the Arsinals and Frontire Garrisons, which were intrusted in the hands of strangers, who were in no wise re sponsible for them; that they desired an Assembly of the States General, according to the Custome, during the Minorities of their Kings, in which the *Queen* should finde a legal provision made for the support of her authority, the preservation of the Lawes, and reforming all abuses that obstructed the administration of them. He writes also to the Parliament of *Paris*, and all the Grandees not yet confederated with him, to invite them to a Conjunction with his Party; and to the Deputies general also, telling them that those of the Religion were not forgotten in his Remonstrances; He sent also *Le Maret* Lieutenant of his guards, to the Duke of *Rohan* to court him to come in his behalf, protesting that he would not listen to any agreement, but with his consent: But the Duke who on the one side knew very well the credit the Marshal

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Bouillon had gained among his most intimate confidents; and on the other, remembring the continual ill offices he had received from him ever since the Assembly of *Saumure*, and being not unjealous that the war was only declared in words, whil'st in truth they were already entred into a Treaty, resolved to send *Haultefontaine*, in whom he reposed great confidence, along with *Marets*, to make a discovery of the true posture of the *Prince*, his affairs; and in the interim made his addresses by letter to the Queen, assuring her, that he would continue united with the whole body of those of the Religion, to whom if she pleased to vouchsafe some satisfaction, she should reclaime her discontents at an easie rate.

In the mean while the *Prince* came to *Saint Menehould*, a strong place within the government of the Duke of *Nevers*, which he had secured; and there also arrived *Hault-fontaine*, where, instead of a war proclaimed, he found a Treaty well advanced. He was received with much honour, and admitted also to their Councels; Upon his arrival, it was given out, that he came with an offer of eight thousand foot, and two thousand horse from his Master, on purpose to hasten the Treaty, and yet was he sent back to the Duke with an assurance that there should be none, and a request to raise armes: But *Hault-fontaine* assured him that the Peace was concluded, and that *Amboise* was to be given to the Prince, *Mouzon* to the Duke of *Nevers*, and a round summe of money to the Duke of *Bouillon*, and that an Assembly of the States-generall was promised; which in a short time after was performed. And thus did their own private interests intercept their regard to the consideration of the publick.

The Duke of *Vendosme*, who, after his escape, had levied many men in *Britany*, and engaged himself in the fortification of *Blavet*, was much troubled to see himself thus forlorne: He sent *Roche Giffar* to the Duke of *Rohan*, with earnest perswasions to joyne with him, which were well mixed with faire promises in favour of those of the Religion: But all could extract no other answer from him, than that the best counsel could be given him, was to digest, as well as he could, his dereliction, and in time, to comply, lest his obstinacy should draw upon him an inevitable ruine. But this advice had no operations upon his resolutions; though the Prince, when he came into *Poictou*, added his perswasions too, and endeavoure to approve of his precipitation of the peace. The Prince was also very serious to see the Duke of *Rohan*, who to satisfie him in that particular, came to *La Roche des Aubiers* in *Anjou*, where he shews him, how he had been forced to shuffle up a peace the best he could, for that the Marshal *Bouillon*, ambitious

of all the thanks and profit, had debauched and seduced most his party (speaking well indeed of none but the Duke of *Nevers*) so that he was constrained to accept of *Amboise*; That he hoped to procure an Assembly of the States General, in which his party would be the most prevalent, for that every one in their Province, stickled hard for him; and that it was there, the affairs of the Kingdom should have a redress, and the Nobility enjoy their dignities, or else that they should have more forces, and a better pretence for a War; that though he had cast off many Gentlemen and Souldiers, yet he regarded not that much, for that he knew, *France* was alwayes well stored with discontents.

To which was answered, that the States would rather oppose his designs, and instead of augmenting, lessen his authority; for that the fear of evil, and hope of good, the most prevalent motives upon the affections of men, were from the *Queen*, not him; and that the reason, why many refused to take Armes, though he commanded them, was, because he himself did not, but had made his peace; for which he was upbraided both by the Duke of *Rohan*, and his brother; of which he excused himself the best he could, with many large protestations of friendship to them, and a high approbation of the Counsel they had given the Duke of *Vendosme*; and thus was their interview terminated; After which, the Prince to make his advantage of all, wrote to the President *Jeanin*, that he had desired a meeting from the Duke of *Rohan* for no other end, but to break off the confederacy between the Duke of *Vendosme* and him.

This being past, all parties were very industrious to procure a nomination of such Deputies in the Provinces, for the States General, to be convened at *Paris* the winter following, as were most devoted to them; And in the mean while the *King* and *Queen* took their journey towards *Britany* to reduce the Duke of *Vendosme*: When they came to *Poitiers*, *Villeroy* dispatches to the Duke of *Rohan* one *Villette* (whom he knew to be a friend of his) to let him know, that their Majesties passing within twenty Leagues of him, would take it ill if he neglected to come and wait upon them, assuring him of a fair reception; and that it was such an opportunity to set himself right againe with them, as in prudence he ought not to let slip: Upon this encouragement he went thither, where, after a very good welcome given him, they engaged him to be present at the States of *Britany* to be held at *Nantes*, where all their propositions were answered with a free assent to them; whether they concerned the Deputations for the States General, or the Duke of *Vendosme*, who was forced to

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preſent himſelf before them, and wholly ſubmit himſelf to their pleaſures. This done, they returned thence, it being preſently after the Autumn, to *Paris*, whither a general curioſity carried every one to ſee what would be the iſſue of the States General. The Prince was in very good intelligence with the ſtrongeſt party in the Parliament, occaſioned rather by their hatred to the preſent government, than by any influence from his vertue or good conduct; for had his life and actions been in any degree proportionable to his pretences, and Remonſtrances, he would have much diſturbed the *Queens* government.

Come we now to the States, who aſſembled at *Paris* about the latter end of *October*, in the year 1614: where all things paſſed according to the *Queens* deſire, who notwithſtanding diſſolved them, without giving them any ſatisfaction at all: The Prince was faine to yield up *Amboiſe* againe, which he had gotten at the Treaty of *Saint Menehould*; and that by the advice of the Marſhal *Boüillon*, who thought by ſhewing the power he had over the firſt Prince of the blood, who only might lawfully queſtion the actions of the *Queen*, to render himſelf ſo acceptable and conſiderable, that of neceſſity he ſhould be employed in the management of the publick affairs: But remembring that his ſervices had been leſs recompenſed than his diſſervices, and that men ſtood in awe of that aſpiring ſpirit, ſo apt and ready for any great undertakings, he reſolves to imploy it again to miſchief; and taking occaſion from the ill propoſitions made in the States, from the treacheries diſcovered there, by a preſumption to eſtabliſh the Papal in prejudice of the Royal Authority, from the Decree made by them for the conſummating the Marriages with *Spaine*, from the prodigious greatneſs of the Marſhal *d' Ancre* univerſally envyed, and maligned, eſpecially in *Paris*; and from the diſcontents the Deputies the States carried back into their provinces, all which things he ſo dexterouſly ordered for his purpoſes, that from that foundation he raiſed a *broüillery* of that importance, that even thoſe that thought not at all of meddling in it, were inſenſibly engaged in the party.

The better to arrive at his aimes, the Marſhal *Boüillon* drew into the confederacy with the Prince all the Grandees of the Kingdome, whom either ſome particular injuries received, or envy (the baſeſt, yet moſt common vice of all) had diſcontented; handles the Parliament of *Paris* ſo handſomely, that the greateſt part of them favoured his deſign, prevailed ſo farre upon the Engliſh Embaſſadour, that he incited his Maſter to countenance his party, and made *Rouvray*, *Desbordes-Mercier*, and *Bertheville*, Deputies General from the Aſſembly of thoſe of the Religion, perſons

sons of great abilities, and good repute, his own; shewing the the remedies he would apply to the disorders of the State, th advantages should thence accrue to those of the Religion in gen ral, and themselves in particulars, to wit, to the one the place Embassadour into the *Low Countreys*, to the other the revenue a Counsellor in the Chamber of Edicts, and to the third, the Depu ration General; all very perswasive arguments.

When he had thus disposed his affairs, leave was granted for an Assembly to be held at *Sergeau*, the fourth day of *April*, which place was judged improper for a free debate, and attaining the ends proposed, wherefore it was removed to *Grenoble* the fifteenth of *July*, one thousand six hundred and fifteen, upon the instant request of the Deputies General, and the Provinces, and the assurance the Marshal *Lesdiguieres* gave the *Queen*, that he would order all things so, that she should have no cause to feare the issue of it; which place, though the vast power, and well-known humour of the Marshal might cast some umbrages of suspicion on it, could not however be refused, because that *Dauphine* was a Province, in which those of the Religion were most numerous and powerful, and where without danger they could not be disgusted.

Whiles these things were in agitation, great care was taken to incense the spirits of the *Parisians*, and with such effect, that the Parliament set forth a Declaration, inviting the Prince and Peers to joyne with them in their Consultations; which though they were checked for, yet desisted they not, but proceeded to the presenting of very bold Remonstrances to the King himself, whose substance was, that he ought not to begin the first yeare of his Majority with such absolute commands, nor accustome himself to such actions, which good Kings, as himself, very rarely had recourse to, and after an exaggeration of the great and signal services of their Court ever since its first establishment, and that all the weighty and most important affaires of the State were managed by their Counsel, or that the Kings had repented it, they remonstrate the displeasure they had to see that the Late States should endeavour to subvert the Fundamental Law of the Kingdome, by rendering the Soveraign power of the King doubtful, and problematick; that for the suppression of such pernicious Maximes, and that his Soveraignty which he holds only and immediately from *God* himself, be not upon any pretence whatsoever subjected to any other power, it were necessary to ordaine, that the Original Laws of the Nation, and the occasional decrees founded on them be renewed and put in execution; and those held for enemies to the State, that would subject the Royal Authority to

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any forraign domination: Moreover they remonstrate also how necessary it were to continue the ancient Alliances, and forraigne Confederacies renewed by the late King; that the King should be also advised by the Princes, Officers of the Crown, and veterane Counsellours, persons experienced and interessed in the State, and that none be permitted to receive pensions of forraigne Princes or States: That all Officers be protected in the discharge of their duty: That for the future no survivances or reversions of Offices be granted: That the Military commands be not Vendible: That the governments of provinces, strong places, and principal Military commands be not conferred on strangers: That for the conservation of the dignity and splendour of the Romish Religion, without derogating from the Edicts of pacification, and for the preservation of the priviledges of the *Gallick* Church, and rectifying the abuses crept into it by means of *Suffragans* and *Coadjutors*, there be not suffered any multiplication of new Religious orders; and that Bishopricks be conferred on persons of good Families, and suitable qualifications, both for age and vertue: That the course of Justice be free, and all obstructors of it punished; and that the Kings Councell upon applications made to them, may not abrogate any decrees of the Parliament; but that those who would sue for relief against them, do it by the usual and Legal wayes: That no pardon be granted to any Murtherers: That Edicts and Ordinances against Duels be observed: That the decrees of the Kings Council be more stable, and not reverseable upon every occasion, either for money or favour: That the exactions and irregularities committed in the Chanceryes of the Parliaments, and Presidial seats, and Taxes raised without verification in Parliament be suppressed: That all societies of Counsellors of Estate, Intendants, and other Officers of the *Finances*, or Exchequer, together with all partnerships, be forbidden: That all publick gaming, and tippling-houses be suppressed: That provision be made against the abuses of treasurers, and the offenders punished; and that the excess of rewards be moderated: That the Government of the Exchequer be intrusted but to a few persons, as in the time of the late King: That the profusion of the treasures may be computed from this; that the Revenue is greater now, than in the late Kings time, who spent every yeare in buildings and other expences, now taken off, three millions of Livres, and laid up two millions; that if those five millions had been laid up every yeare since his death, there would be in the Treasury twenty millions; besides the fourteen millions he left there, which, to the great regret of all good *French* men, are now consumed; extravagancies of such a nature, as will quickly

and *France* a begging, if not remedied; which cannot be but by strict inquiry into the actions of those that have been guilty of these male-administrations, of which they know their Majesties to be intirely innocent: Wherefore they most humbly implore the leave, to put in execution their decree made in *March*, one thousand six hundred and fifteen, promising to disclose to the things of great concernments to the State, which are yet hidde from them; by means of which, provision may be made for prevention of all these disorders: But in case that the evil Counsels and crafty Artifices of persons interessed herein, shall hinde these Remonstrances of a faire reception, the said Parliament solemnly protests, That for the discharge of their consciences, for the service of their Majesties, and preservation of the State, they shall be obliged hereafter to nominate freely the Authors of these abuses, and lay open to the world their wicked comportments; that remedies may be applyed in due season, when the affairs will more conveniently admit of them, and his Majesty shall please to take better notice of them.

This Remonstrance wrought the designed effect, procuring the Parliament a sharp check, and affectionating them so much the more to the Prince his party: Hence ensued great animosities and very liberal discourses of all sides; and presently after, came Letters from the *Prince* to the *King*, the *Queen*, and all the Grandees both of the Court and Parliament, together with his Declaration, which resuming the business from before the War of *Saint Menehould*, complaines of the irregularities in the elections of the Deputies for the States general, of the elusion of the Article proposed by the third Estate or Commons, for securing the life and authority of the King, against the designes of the Pope; of the excessive Offices and exorbitant power of the Marshal *d'Ancre*, and his extravagancies in the administration of them, presuming to deprive the Princes of their governments, and procuring Laws oppressive to the people, for the satisfying of his own avarice, and ambition, disposing of all the Offices of the Kingdome, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal, infringing the liberty of the States, to which the Prince was forbid an access, causing the Parliament of *Paris* to receive a smart reproof for their Remonstrance; concluding the marriages with *Spaine*, without communicating the business to those it ought to be imparted to, by such practices slighting and deserting the Ancient *Allyes* of the Crown, and among others the Duke of *Savoy*; who, to the great dishonour of *France*, is suffered to be trampled in the dust; causing a refusal of the propositions made by the Nobility to the States, for the observation of the Edicts of Pacification; attempting to introduce

duce the Clergy of *France* to sweare an entire observance of the Council of *Trent*: That it was most unreasonable that the Marshal *d'Ancre*, the Chancellour, the Commander *de Silleri*, *Vaucelas*, and *Dole*, Authours of all these violent actions, and mischievous Counsels, should be maintained in such an unlimited power: The Prince also further demanded, that before they proceed to a consummation of the marriages with *Spaine*, some course be taken for regulating the Counsels, and reforming, and composing the abuses and disorders in the State: About which, he had several conferences with *Villeroy*, to amuse and intrap him; rather than out of an intention to contrive any remedies for them: At length upon the Summons given him by *Pontchartraine*; to the voyage into *Guienne* to consummate the Marriages, foreseeing thence the wrack of his hopes, and pretences of a good Reformation, he declares that the Armes he had raised, had no other aime than the preservation of the Kings authority, and the glory, and honour of the Nation, inviting all good *French* men, both of the one, and the other Religion to joyn with him, and all the Ancient *Alties* of the Crown, to favour him in so good a design.

When the Prince had published this Declaration, he made his Levyes in *France* and *Germany*, and took his Canon at *Sedan*: The King also raised an Army of ten thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, Commanded by the Marshal *de Bois-Dauphin*, to oppose the discontents, and with other Troops sets forward towards *Guienne*, attended on by the Duke of *Guise*, who was to conduct *Madame* the Kings sister to the Frontieres of *Spaine*, and there to receive the *Infanta*, and waite on her back to the *King*.

In the mean time the Prince earnestly sollicites the Assembly at *Grenoble*, by his Agent *La Hay*, who delivers them his *Manifesto*, and shews them the advantages would redound to those of the Religion, in case the Assembly would comply with him in reforming the State, and opposing the matches with *Spaine*; and further engages himself not to conclude any thing, but by their advice. The Prince his party, nor their adherents, durst not open their mouths to second this motion; But yet the others imagining that from so important an opportunity they might with good reason derive strong hopes of obtaining some favour from the King, they deputed *Champeaux*, *Desbordes-Mercier*, and *Mailleray*, to him, who found him at *Tours*, and presented to him five and twenty Articles of greatest consequence to their Interests, humbly supplicating him to vouchsafe them some satisfaction thereupon. Of these Deputies, *Desbordes-Mercier* was of the Prince his faction, the other two were of the same opinion with the Duke of *Rohan*, who thought

thought the first equally affected to him with the others; of whose abilities being very conscious, he reposed an entire confidence in him: He received Letters from him from *Poictiers*, which gave him notice of their dissatisfaction, and urged him to a conjunction with the Prince, assuring him that the Assembly would be well satisfied with it, and also do the like themselves: The other two Deputies governed by this, joyned in this intelligence, informing him moreover, how much their Majesties slighted the Assembly, so that adding to this, the refusal made him of the Survivance, or Reversion of the Government of *Poictou*, (to which his father-in-law had given his consent) contrary to the solemn promises passed to him for it; together with the perswasions of his brother the Duke of *Soubize*, who was well affected to the Prince, he began to stagger a little: Besides, in his return to *Saint John*, from *Saint Maixent*, where he had been to see the Duke of *Sully*, he met a Gentleman belonging to the Count of *Saint Paul*, who desired his assistance to oppose the Marriages with *Spaine*; and was seconded by *Saint Angel*, *Savignac*, and *Dardour*, who in the name of all the Governours, and Nobility of the Religion, sollicited the same thing, and chose him for their General, confirming him with an assurance, that the Count of *Saint Paul* would deliver up *Fronsac* to *La Force*, as a pledge for the performance of his word.

The accumulation of all these things, to wit, the hope of Redeeming himself from the neglect and slights lately thrown upon him; the sollicitation of his brother, together with the desire he had to serve those of the Religion, overpoised his former resolutions, and sent him into *Guienne*, where he found that the Count of *Saint Paul*, with the Romish Catholicks, had made their peace, and a great confusion among those of the Religion; nevertheless, having gotten together *La Force*, *Boisse-Pardaillan*, *Chasteau-neuf*, *Favas*, and *Pamissans*, with others of the Religion, it was resolved, that they should make use of the leasure afforded them by the Kings stay at *Poictiers*, occasioned by the sickness of *Madame* the Princess, to prepare for a War; feeding themselves with hopes to raise an Army of six thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, which at their first Rendezvous amounted but to six hundred Foot, and fifty Horse; nor could all their power ever bring more than two thousand men together; so that the King easily, and without any interruption got to *Bourdeaux*; whence the *Queen Mother* dispatched *Chesney* to the Duke of *Rohan*, with very fair offers, upon condition that he would joyne with her: But neither he, nor *Bois-de Cargois*, who was deputed from the Assembly with the like Commission, could get any other

other answer from him, than, That he would not fail to make good his word, where he had engaged it: But this failing, the *Queen* endeavours to take off *La Force*, and *Boisse-Pardaillan* from him; As for the former, he conceived himself obliged to the defence of *Bearn*, and the other persisted in his integrity.

The Duke of *Rohan's* chiefest care now was to engage in the party he had embraced, all the Towns, and Communalties of the Religion, together with the Assembly General, whom by express Messengers, he advertises, that upon the refusal of favourable answers to their propositions, and the earnest solicitations of their Deputies, he had now declared in *Guienne*, and his brother in *Poictou*, perswading them to own their actions, and adhere to the Prince: The Duke of *Soubize*, who had staid at *Saint John* during the Kings abode at *Poictiers*, immediately after his departure, makes his levyes in *Poictou*, and *Xaintonge*, and suddenly took the field with four thousand good Foot, and five hundred Horse, which were very opportunely ready to receive the Prince at his arrival there.

In the mean time the Duke of *Guise* conducts the *Princesse* towards *Spaine*, and brings thence the *Infanta*; whose voyage affonded the Duke of *Rohan* the opportunity to seize upon *Lectour*, by the assistance of *Fontrailles*, who let him into the Town, where, when he was entered, he besieged the Castle, and forced it to surrender, before the Duke of *Guise* could relieve it, or the Assembly of the higher *Languedoc* interrupt his design: From thence he marches to *Verdun* and *Mauvoisin*, which he could by no means draw to his party; and thence to *Montauban*, which, though with much reluctancy, he got to declare for him: In this March he met with the Duke of *Candale*, who discovered to him his intention of embracing the Reformed Religion; after mutual complements they part, and the Duke of *Rohan* keeps on his way towards *Languedoc*, to the Assembly, who by reason they had not the freedome they expected at *Grenoble*, were adjourned to *Nismes*, where his dexterous endeavours had such happy success, that maugre the power of *Chastillon*, which the vertue of his Ancestors had acquired him; he destroyed all his credit with them, made himself be acknowledged General of the *Seuenes*, and so prevailed upon the Assembly, that all the opposition *Chastillon* could make in it, or in *Languedoc*, could not hinder their conjunction with the Prince; whose *Partisans* seeing themselves backed by the Dukes of *Rohan*, *Sully*, and *Soubize*, at that time carried all before them; and *Desbordes-Mercier*, *Gyssel*, and *Noviant*, were deputed to carry the Act of Union

to

to the Prince, and get his signature to the Articles agreed on: wh Substance was,

To oppose the reception of the Council of Trent, *and the marriag with* Spain.

To procure a reformation of the Council, and an observation of t Edicts made in favour of those of the Religion; and that th should not desert one another, lay down their Armes, nor hearke to any pacification, but by a mutual consent.

At *Montauban* heard the Duke the first news from the Prince, though he had dispatched several Messengers to him; and thither he sent him word, That, notwithstanding the opposition of a strong and well-marshalled Army, he had passed the Rivers of *Marne*, *Seine*, and the *Loire*; and that having gotten the start of the adverse Army, he was now marching to joyn with him in *Guienne*, desiring him to march towards the *Dordoigne*; and for the security of his passage, possess himself of some places upon that River; which he quickly did, taking among others, *Souillac*, one of the best passes on it, and beating up the Quarters of the Count of *Lauzune's* Regiment that was barricado'd in two great Villages.

But the Prince, instead of that, took the way of *Poictou*, where he very seasonably met with the Duke of *Soubize*; for he was very weak in Foot, and his whole Army so harassed, that had not the Town of *Saint John* received him, and the Duke of *Sully* at length, with much ado joyned with him, causing also all the places he held in *Poictou* to declare for his party, he would have been but in a sad condition.

In the mean while their Majesties return towards *Tours*, the Duke of *Guise* commanding the Army of the Marshal *de Bois Dauphin*, and the Duke *d' Espernon*, with another, having the charge of their conduct: All these conjunctions with the Prince, raised him from the contempt he lay under, to so considerable a height in the opinions of his Adversaries, that he is now sued to for an accommodation.

Now it is to be understood that the Marshal *Boüillon* and the Duke of *Mayne*, being more strictly ligued, and of greater intimacy with the Prince than any of the whole party besides, and consequently more sought after by the Court, resolved to have a peace, and purchase their own conditions at the expence of the whole confederacy: In order to which, a Cessation of armes is agreed on, and the Town of *Loudun* made choice, of for the place of Treaty; Invitations were sent also to the Assembly: General-

to draw as near to them as *Saint Foy*, where the Marshal *Boüillon* was in great reputation: But the Duke of *Roban* being advertised by his brother of all their plots, discovered to his friends in the Assembly the whole mystery, and let them know, that it were expedient the Assembly should instantly remove to *Rochell*, where their authority would be greater, and their strength more considerable; and that for his part he was resolved to go to the Treaty, though not summoned to it, leaving *Boesse Pardaillan*, in his absence to command in *Guienne*.

Before we proceed to the particularities of the Treaty, there are two very observable things to be taken notice of. The first was the Duke of *Nevers* his arming, without declaring for either side, but pretending as a Mediatour to enforce both parties to an accommodation, out of an apprehension he might give them to sway the ballance on that side he should incline to: A thing feasable by the King of *England*, or of *Spaine*, but a ridiculous attempt for him. The other was nothing more Judicious, and that was a resembling action of the Duke of *Vendosmes*, who by the King's Commissions had raised a considerable force, but joyned not with the Prince till after the truce; so that, he served for nothing but to inhaunce the conditions of that party he declared for, and frustrating himself of all means to make his own, being of himself not considerable, attracts to himself the *odium* and malignity borne to the whole party.

At this Treaty there were present of the Kings part, the Marshal *Briassac*, *Villeroy*, the President *de Thou*, *de Vic*, and *Pontchartraine*, who sedulously sought by sowing divisions among them, to weaken the confederates, and consequently lessen their conditions: The Prince, weary of the War, pretends nothing but a desire of peace, renouncing in appearance, all further thoughts of the publick affairs, and demanding only a satisfaction of the interests of particular persons, but resolving principally to find his own there too: He had ingaged to the Duke of *Vendosme*, not to consent to any peace, unless he had the Castle of *Nantes* given him: To the Duke of *Longueville* he promised the *Cittadell* of *Amiens*, and to those of the Religion, a confirmation of the Edicts: But when the Duke of *Mayne*, and the Marshal *Boüillon* were arrived at their ends, they quitted all thoughts, but how to make the rest relinquish theirs, to effect which, they used all manner of Artifices, the most crafty and pregnant inventions could furnish them with: But the admirable constancy of the Assembly General at *Rochell*, and the firm union between the other Grandees, threw insuperable difficulties in the way to their designs.

But in the midſt of theſe tranſactions, the Prince falls deſperately ſick, which cauſed a great confuſion among them all, & made them more ſollicitous to have this affair diſpatched: The Duke of *Sully* was deſired to go to the Aſſembly, and repreſent to them the dangers, that attended the preſent condition of things whence he returned, with a full aſſurance of their good inclinations to peace; which three dayes after, they confirmed by ten Deputies they ſent with an expreſs charge to ſupercede all former demands, that might retard the concluſion of the Treaty; confining themſelves to an obtention only of all expedients, neceſſary to confirm and ſecure to them their former Conceſſions: Among which were the continuation of the Aſſembly where it was untill the verification of the Edict; the disbanding of the Armyes; the reſtitution of *Tartas*; and the diſpatch of the Commiſſioners appointed to put the Edict in execution, according as the Duke of *Sully* had promiſed them in the Princes names; which he clearly made appeare by his inſtructions, when the Prince receeded from the aforeſaid promiſe: But the King's Commiſſioners encouraged under hand, inſiſted eagerly on the diſſolution of the Aſſembly, which had like to have broken all, had not the Duke of *Sully*, pregnant in evaſions to prevent miſchiefs, firmly perſiſted in his endeavours to compoſe the buſineſs, offering another Writing to the Commiſſioners, which they approved of, and deſired him to procure the Deputies of the Aſſembly their aſſent to it alſo, which, with the aſſiſtance of the Dukes of *Rohan*, *Candale*, and *Soubize*, he ſo happily endeavoured, that they aſſented to it, upon condition, that there might be an alteration of ſome termes; And forasmuch as the Commiſſion of the Deputies was too reſtrictive, they joyntly ſent an expreſs to Remonſtrate to the Aſſembly the neceſſity of terminating this affaire, and to that end deſire ſuch an enlargement of their power, as ſhould oblige them to ratifie what they ſhould conclude in their names, and with the advice of the Grandees of the Religion: The Duke of *Sully* thinking he had now finiſhed all, carries the ſaid Writing to the King's Commiſſioners, with whom were preſent the Dukes of *Nevers*, *Maine*, and *Boüillon*, who all confirmed it, and after them the Deputies alſo: But when he returned with it again to the Commiſſioners, they denyed what they had done; but yet as the Duke was going from them, they recalled him againe, and after much conteſtation came once more to an agreement: After which they all met at the Duke of *Nevers* his Lodgings, who treated the whole company at Dinner; where the King's Commiſſioners, for the third time, ſo altered the Writing, that there was nothing left of its firſt deſign

design; for which reason the Duke of *Sully* would no more trouble himself with it.

Whereupon the Prince caused the Grandees to be called to sign the Peace; he was yet so ill that he could neither understand it, when it was read, nor comprehend the difficulties yet to be surmounted: Nevertheless he called the Duke of *Sully* to know what hindered the signing of it, which being told him, he calls *Villeroy*, and having whispered something to him very softly, presently declares to the Duke of *Sully*, that *Villeroy* had given him the Writing just as it was at first designed with the advice and consent of the Duke; and without expecting the Answer of the Assembly, or any reason to the contrary, signed it: Whereupon the Duke of *Boüillon* had many sharp contests, real, or pretended, and delusory, with *Villeroy*, for that he desired that the English Embassadour, who had been a great instrument of the Peace, should sign it too, which the other opposed as a thing neither handsome, nor honorable for the King to suffer.

This precipitate signing of the Peace by the Prince, occasioned great and general murmurings among the rest of the Party, that saw themselves thus deserted by those that were the Authors of the Warre: And the Duke of *Boüillon*, to enhaunce the price of the services he had done the King, bitterly inveighs against the Assembly, branding them, and all that should abet them, with the name of Rebells; offered to march against them, and declared that he should esteem for enemies to the State, all those that upon any pretence whatsoever, should refuse to signe the peace; But neither his, nor the threats of the Commissioners prevailed ought upon the others constancy. And because this brangling was a disturbance to the Prince, the whole company removed to the Countess of *Soissons* Lodgings, where every one, all other difficulties being cleared, to avoid disputes for the precedency, subscribed his approbation apart, and none, but the Prince, and the Deputies, signed the Declaration.

But when all was done, this War wrought no alteration at all in the publick affairs, but what was procured by those of the King's party, who made use of this occasion to revenge themselves upon their enemies: So *Villeroy*, and the President *Jeanin*, whom the Chancellour *de Silleri* had formerly put by, that he might have the sole administration of all affaires, caused the seals to be taken from him, and committed to the President *Du Vair*: But *Villeroy* nothing advantaged himself hereby; for the Marshal *d'Ancre*, conceiving a jealousie, that at the Treaty he held correspondence with the contrary party, to out him of the *Citadell* of

Amiens, caused his Office of Secretary of State, to be given to *Mangot*.

When this business was thus concluded, every one departed, but diversely affected, and very ill satisfied one with another; and the next day came the full power from the Assembly to their Deputies to conclude the Peace. The Marshal *Boüillon*, and the Duke of *Trimoüille*, to insinuate themselves the more into the King's favour, engaged themselves to the Commissioners, by an Act under their hands and seals, to rout the Assembly, and all that should presume to justifie them, in case they refused to dissolve, after the six weeks prorogation accorded them, was expired.

If the number of the discontents on the Princes side was great, it was not less on the other: The favour of the Marshal *d' Ancre* was more insupportable to those, that upheld, than those that opposed him: and he also perceiving himself more tyrannised by his creatures, than his enemies, made the late reconciled party believe he would enter into a firm and strict amity with them; which the Duke of *Guise* suspecting, he also, to cross the Marshal *d' Ancre*'s aimes, seeks after an union with them too: And in order to it, makes his applications to the Marshal *Boüillon*; who fed him still with very fair words, and hopes, that in case he failed of his end at the Court, he might have a good occasion to intangle it in new perplexities.

Some dayes before the conclusion of the Peace, it was proposed in the Prince his Council, that the Grandees of his party should enter into an inviolable League amongst themselves, that two of them should alwayes in their turns, reside at Court, whilest the others kept at a greater distance from it; and that every one of them should embrace the particular interests of the others. The Marshal *Boüillon* rejected that Proposition, as unseasonable, for that, having occasion to disoblige the greatest part of them, he foresaw this might discover his intentions; and besides, he was yet desirous to derive his advantage from the merits, and esteem of his services: But after the Treaty was concluded, himself renewed the former proposal, which was then also as unseasonable, because their minds were now too much varied from what they were, and they so jealous one of another, that every one steered his course by his own particular interest.

The Prince went to take possession of the government of *Berry*, given him in exchange for that of *Guienne*; The Duke of *Mayne*, and the Marshal *Boüillon* to the Court, to try how the pulses beat there, but principally to reap the fruit of their services; The Duke of *Sully* to his government of *Poitou*; The

Duke

Duke of *Rohan* to *Rochell*, to inform the Assembly of what had passed at the treaty of *Loudun*, and to procure a nomination of good Deputies general: But the Court *Caball* being united with the Prince his faction, and the hopes of favour, gratifications, and pensions, he gave to those that should incline to his will wholly governed them, so that *Bertheville*, and *Mainald* were chosen.

The Duke of *Rohan* seeing how he was hated at Court, and that the success of all things thwarted his projection, resolves to make an Essay upon the Duke of *Sully* for the government of *Poitou*, of whom when he had obtained a demission of it, his Patents were prepared, according to the tenor of the Articles of the Treaty, upon condition that he should go to receive them at Court, which he resolved to do; and there delivers himself freely to the *Queen*, telling her, that the slights she had thrown upon him, had induced him to let her Majesty know, that he was neither voide of resentments, nor destitute of power; that, it was true, he had served and obliged a most ingrateful person, which he was very sensible of, and that if she pleased to vouchsafe him a pardon, and amnesty for his actions against her, and admit him again to her favour; he vowed that except the party of the Religion, he would devote his most faithful services to her, against all the world besides; of which offer and protestation she testified her belief by her acceptance of it.

But to return to the Marshal *Bouillon*; he employed the uttermost strength of his whole abilities to gain an admission to the helm of State, declaring that he was the only man could, at his pleasure, rule, and dispose of the Prince, who was also the only person could prejudice the authority of the *Queen*; and that consequently his satisfaction, and employment would free them from any further apprehensions, whatsoever: But the Marshal *d' Ancre*, who had ingrossed all the power, being the only Favourite, and intended to change the whole Council, to place therein creatures of his own, thought it not convenient to suffer the introduction of such a one; which the other perceiving, stuffs the Princes head with new jealousies, to prevent his returne to the Court.

There were the Countess of *Soissons* of the one side, and the Princess of *Conde* of the other, that extreamly rejoyced at the report of the Prince his intentions to return thither; but all (so jealous were they one of another) agreed to divert him from them, unless it was by their means that he came; which he knowing very well, waved them all, and by the mediation of *Rochefort*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Bourges*, secretly made his

peace with the *Queen*, fixing himself upon her, and to prot the Marshal *d' Ancre*, with the exclusion of his own party; p vided he might be solely intrusted with the management of publick affairs, and made Chief of the Council of the K venew.

Coming to *Paris* against the good liking of those afore-me tioned, he was welcomed with loud acclamations, and appla ses, and resumed a great power in the State: The Duke of *hau*, with the *Queens* permission, gave him a visit; and shar Jy reproached him for signing the Peace, without expecting t Commission from the Assembly; which he excused, saying, th he was induced to it by an apprehension he had, lest the Du should hinder their granting it; and when he afterwards made stood that he was restored to the *Queens* favour, he told him h was very glad of it, for that he had now brought no other re solutions with him, but to enjoy himself, mind his own affairs and no more to intermeddle in any factions, but entirely to ad here to the *King*, the *Queen*, and the Marshal *d' Ancre*: And when the dissatisfaction of the Great ones, and principally of the Marshal *Bouillon*, who was supposed to have an absolute power over him, was objected to him; his answer was, That he now very well perceived his drift, and the subtleties he used to per swade him, that the welfare of the State consisted either in peace or War, according as he was pleased, or displeased, and that he would no more stoop to that Lure.

On the other side, the Marshal *Bouillon* though he saw him self quite cast off, despairs not, but for fear of exasperating him, covers the displeasure he had conceived against the Prince, with a seeming approbation of all that he had done; and that his Counsels might be of greater validity with him, draws the Duke of *Guise*, with his brothers, and the Duke of *Nevers*, into an union with those of his party; taking advantage of the Parlia ments, and *Parisians* hatred against the Marshal *d' Ancre*, and by the means of *Luines*, who now began to be the sole Favou rite, exposes him to the King's also; and communicated to ma ny of the prime Nobility his design to secure the Court by the death of the Marshal *d' Ancre*; who had bartered away the King's Lieutenancies in *Picardy*, and the *Citadel* of *Amiens*, together with that of *Normandy*, which the Duke of *Montbazon* had, and reserved to himself the government of *Peronne*, *Mon didier*, and *Roye*: The Duke of *Longueville*, enraged to see himself disappointed of *Amiens*, and the rest of *Picardy*, pur sues his design, loudly proclaims to the world his discontents, and the Intelligence he held with the Town of *Peronne*, incens it, and

possesse

poſſeſſes himſelf of the Caſtle, before any one could ſtir to prevent him. *Mangot*, the new made Secretary of State in the place of *Villeroy*, is ſent thither by the King, but to no purpoſe for that the Caſtle was already delivered: At his return from this ſucceſſeleſs voyage, the King, being adviſed to handle this buſineſs with all gentleneſs poſſible, ſends the Marſhal *Boüillon*, who made two journyes thither, but brought not back the ſatisfaction was deſired; and indeed his own particular aime was to confirm the Duke in his conqueſt, to the end that he might engage him, and his friends, in the deſign he ſtill purſued. And one day, having aſſembled the chiefeſt of his Confederates, to conſult about the killing of the Marſhal *d' Ancre*, the Duke of *Maine*, who was ſuppoſed to be the moſt zealous in the buſineſs, offered to kill him himſelf, provided that the Prince would be there, and that it was neceſſary to know his reſolution therein; the Marſhal *Boüillon* replyed, That they ought to beware of that, but that he would undertake to make the Prince avow the action when it was executed, but that it was dangerous to impart it to him before, and that he ſhould not by any means have any notice of it, till it were ready to be put in execution, that he might not have leaſure to retract: But the obſtinacy of the Duke of *Maine* carried it, and the Prince when he was acquainted with what they had reſolved on, whether it was, that he feared the iſſue of it, or that for this once he would be a man of his word, that very Evening let the Marſhal *d' Ancre* know, by the Arch-Biſhop of *Bourges*, that he could by no means abandon the Duke of *Longueville*, and that he revoked the promiſe he had made to protect him: Whereupon the Marſhal, the ſame night poſted into *Normandy*; and there ſeeing himſelf forſaken by the Prince, and many of the Great ones, combined to aſſault him in the Court it ſelf, contrived how he might prevent them: informs the *Queen* by ſome of his Confidents, that the *Prince* deceives her, that the Marſhal *Boüillon* amuſes her, that many of the great Nobility were reſolved to deveſt her of her authority, and that the buſineſs was already come to ſuch a point, that ſhe had no other remedy left her, but to ſeize upon their perſons; on which ſhe reſolved, with *Mangot* the Biſhop of *Lucon*, and *Barbin*, creatures of the Marſhal: And on the firſt day of *September*, upon a *Thurſday* at noon, was the Prince arreſted in the *Louvre*, by *Themines*, who for that action was created Marſhal of *France*; and that which is very remarkable in this, is, That upon the ſame day of the month, and of the week, and at the ſame houre was he born: They thought to have ſurprized the Duke of *Maine*, and the Marſhal *Boüillon* there alſo; but the

former lodging near *Saint Anthony's* Gate, had opportunity enough to escape; and the other being that day gone to a Sermon at *Charenton*, was adviſed by his friends to return no more ſo they went to *Soiſſons*, and the Duke of *Guiſe* and his brother took the ſame way alſo; The Duke of *Vendoſme* alſo fled towards *La Fére*; The Duke of *Roban*, who at the very beginning of theſe commotions had quitted the Prince, was not however without his fears, when he ſaw him carried away by *Themines*, and that immediately upon it *Saint Geran* came to enquire after him from the King. This arreſt cauſed a great tumult in *Paris*, which was encreaſed by the Prince his Mother, and many Gentlemen, who animated the people of the Suburbs of *Saint Germaine* to plunder, and raze the Marſhal *d' Ancre's* houſe, which they found ſo ſweet an employment, that the pillage of it laſted two dayes; and indeed great prudence was it, not to oppoſe them in the heat of their fury: For the next day *Crequi* Colonel of the Regiment of the Guards, with one company of them, and another of the Citizens, eaſily took them off from the prey, which in the height of the hurly burly would have proved a greater difficulty.

Their Majeſties gave notice of this Mutiny to thoſe of the Nobility that remained in *Paris*, and likewiſe to the chiefeſt of the Council; among whom, the Duke of *Sully* ſpake his mind freely, and declaring his diſlike of the action, adviſed them to compoſe thoſe differences by the intervention of the Pope his *Nuncio*, and other Embaſſadours, but ſo, as that the full power to determine all ſhould remaine ſtill in the King, and the Queen his Mother. But this Council was diſapproved, and the way of force made choice of: In the mean while the Marſhal *Boüillon* ſets all his wits on work, to engage the Duke of *Guiſe* ſomewhat further, offering to make him chief of a party, where he ſhould command all that darſt diſpute the place with him; tells him moreover, that what they did, was to reſtore the firſt Prince of the Blood to his liberty, and take the King out of the hands of the Marſhal *d' Ancre*, againſt whom the general hatred had evidently appeared by the burning and pillaging of his houſe in *Paris*, even before the King's face; that if they ſhould ſpeedily gather together their friends, and fire all the Mills about *Paris*, they ſhould cauſe a greater inſurrection there: But when he ſaw that theſe perſwaſions prevailed nothing upon him, and that he was treating for his return to Court, where he was offered to Command the King's Armyes; he then moved to have him ſtopped; which the Duke of *Mayne* would not give way to.

Thus

Thus all the Councils of the Marſhal *Bellion* were rejected, though they were very good; For, in extremities, things will not admit of tedious deliberations, and ballancings of future events; and many times a raſh attempt cloſely purſued, meets a fortunate ſucceſs, when circumſpection (in ſuch a caſe) ever fails; Which clearly appeared here; for the Queen having drawn the Duke of *Guiſe* and his brothers, changes the Officers of State, giving the ſeals to *Mangot*, the Office of Secretary of State to the Biſhop of *Lucon*, the Intendancy of the *Finances*, or Treaſurorſhip to *Barbin*, appeaſes all popular tumults, and by a Declaration, verified in Parliament, criminalizes all that had abſented themſelves; Raiſes ſeveral armies, and gives the command of that in *Champagne* to the Duke of *Guiſe*, that in the Iſle of *France* to the Count of *Auvergne*, and having made *Montigny* Marſhal of *France*, and Governour of *Berry*, ſends him thither, who ſecures the Province, and makes himſelf Maſter of the Tower of *Bourges*: The Marſhal *de Souvre* does the like to the Caſtle of *Chinon*, which by the treaty of *Loudun* was given to the Prince. In the beginning of the yeare One thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventeen, the Duke of *Guiſe* ſtormes ſome places held by the Duke of *Nevers*, which, without any great reſiſtance made, he takes, and then prepares for the ſiege of *Mezieres*. The Count of *Auvergne* alſo takes *Pierrefons*, and marches towards *Soiſſons*: And the Duke of *Maine* attempting to beat up the Quarters of the Duke of *Rohan*, Colonel of the light Horſe-men, in *Villiers-Cotrets* received a ſhrewd repulſe: In the mean time the Marſhal *Bellillan* retires to *Sedan*, where he endeavours to ſtrengthen himſelf with ſome forraign aſſiſtance: Thus were the affairs of the Princes but in a ſad condition, even then when their deliverance appeared by the death of the Marſhal *d'Ancre*, which occaſioning a change of the whole face of things, it will not be impertinent, in this place to inſert a particular relation of it.

The unlimited power of Favourites is the ruine of a State: For either they change it themſelves for their own ends, or elſe they give the ambitious opportunities to attempt it, or at leaſt are they made the pretences of all the diſturbances that happen in it: For ſeven years had the Marſhal *d'Ancre* furniſhed *France* with ſuch pretexts, and that great people, whom the raign of *Henry* the great had accuſtomed to a ſubjection to the government of their King himſelf, univerſally hated him, imputing all their miſchiefs continually to him; So that his death filled every one with hopes of an amelioration: But thoſe quickly vaniſhed, when they ſaw *Luynes*, a man of a mean extraction, clo-

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ched with his ſpoiles, and at the firſt riſe advanced to great authority; who by the paſs time, and delights he ſhewed the King in Hunting, and by his low ſubmiſſions had raiſed himſelf to the higheſt place in the affections of a King, who was then but fifteen years old: A Prince very ſingular, and jealous of his authority, which yet, he underſtood not at all, and more apt to believe the worſt, than the beſt: It was a matter of no great difficulty to perſwade him, that the Marſhal *d' Ancre* aimed at a power would prejudice his, and that the Queen Mother was conſenting to it, that ſhe might continue the reins of Government, as in his Minority, in her own hands. For the inſolencies which alwayes accompany great Favourites were extreame in the Marſhal *d' Ancre*; and the Queen Mothers neglect of her ſonne too apparent: So that *Luynes* having before hand dealt with *Dengent* the chief Deputy of *Barbin*, who was Intendent of the *Finances*, cauſed him that night to entertain the King with a diſcourſe of the miſchievous plots were contriving againſt him; and out of hopes of ſome great advancement, he made his treachery againſt his Maſter the foundation of the deſigne: *Marcillac*, his Aſſociate, was he who had formerly betrayed the Prince to the Queen, and now betrayes her to the King: *Deſplats* an ordinary Souldier in the King's Guards, had a ſhare in this employment too, for that he had been a ſervant to *Brantes*, who was brother to *Luynes*: In ſhort, in the contrivance of this deſign were employed only baſe and infamous perſons; but to *Vitry* Captaine of the Guards was the execution of it committed, who was commanded to kill the Marſhal, and for recompence, was promiſed to be made Marſhal of *France*; which accordingly he performed as he was entring the *Louvre*: At the ſame time were arreſted alſo the Marſhal *d' Ancre*'s Lady, *Mangot*, the Biſhop of *Luſon* and *Barbin*; and then were the Chancellour *de Silleri*, *Du Vair*, Keeper of the Seals, *Villeroy*, and the preſident *Janin* ſent for to reſume their Offices. After this were the Queenes guards taken from her, and ſome of the King's appointed to wait on her: A Gallery alſo that led from her Chamber to a Garden ſhe had cauſed to be made, was broken down; nor was ſhe ſuffered, without leave, to ſee any thing, but the ſad converſion of her authority and liberty, into a low and deſpicable condition, and miſerable ſervitude.

Expreſſes were ſent into all parts to give notice of this change, all hoſtility ceaſes, every one returns to the Court, where all ſtrive, who ſhould ſooneſt and moſt impudently renounce that, which but four and twenty hours before, they adored; It being

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the property of generous ſouls only to follow thoſe in their adverſe, whom they honoured in their more proſperous fortune; The Duke of *Rohan* got leave to viſit the Queen-mother, the ſtrength of whoſe conſtancy was ſtill ſuperiour to the violence of her preſſures: And there, ſeeing himſelf regarded with a frowning eye, and taking ſmall pleaſure to ſee thoſe he had ſo lately fought againſt to be the only welcome perſons, goes into *Piedmont*, where he arrived a little after the taking of *Verſeil*, and paſſing the Summer there, he ſaw an action worthy to be obſerved, and related. *Don Pedro de Toledo*, after he had taken *Verſeil*, which had endured a long ſiege, to refreſh it, divided his Army into *Montferrat*, and the Dutchy of *Milan*, and quarters it about *Alexandria*, a Countrey abounding in corne, and all manner of neceſſaries: In the meane while the Duke of *Savoy*'s Army recruited, and the Treaty of peace was ſtill continued by the mediation of the Cardinal *Ludoviſio* on the Pope's behalf, and *Bethun* on the King's; ſeveral conferences had they with *Don Pedro*; In the interim of which, the Marſhal *Leſdiguires*, who commanded the relief ſent by the King to the Duke of *Savoy*, to defend his States, but not to attempt upon the Dutchy of *Milan*; Having ſent to diſcover how the *Spaniſh* Army lay, made a propoſition to beat up the Quarters of two thouſand men, that lay in *Feliſſan*, a Village that was but ſlightly barricadoed, and ſeated in the middeſt of all the other Quarters: proving by many reaſons, that, though at firſt ſight the deſigne might ſeeme very hazardous, yet really was it not ſo, for that marching that way one night with all his forces, at break of day he beat up that Quarter, which hindered the *Spaniſh* Armies rallying, and was the reaſon that thoſe he had left behinde him, having no retreat, were utterly loſt. This motion took the wiſhed effect; For the Duke of *Savoy* having appointed his Rendezvous at *Aſt*, marched by a private way, which avoided *Nice* and *La Roque*, and came to *Feliſſan*, which was inſtantly begirt, and forced, for they had no need of the Canon, which *Shomberg* Marſhal of the Camp, was bringing up with the Rear-guard, with which he was commanded to take in a Caſtle, to ſecure the proviſions, which he did: The next day was taken a place called *Quatordei*, in which were four hundred ſouldiers: The ſame day the Duke of *Savoy* gives the Duke of *Rohan* three hundred horſe, to cut off ſome Cavalry of the enemies, that were coming from *Alexandria*: As he was marching to execute that deſigne, he diſcovers 300. horſe and 1100. foot marching from *Casal* to *Alexandria*; He makes towards them with his whole party, but notwithſtanding he uſed all diligence poſſible, he could not reach them before it was dark,

dark, and that the enemy had ſhelter'd himſelf in a very advantageous hold; A propoſition was then made for the incamping round about them, and ſending that night for two thouſand horſe, that might be ready there to defeat them by break of day; and I believe this project might have taken; But the conſideration of leaving the reſt of the Infantry at *Feliſſan* in the middeſt of the enemies Quarters, who might eaſily beat them up, cauſed them reſolve upon a retreat: So that after a dayes ſtay at *Feliſſan*, they marched towards *Nice*, which they ſurrounded, and in twice four and twenty hours, was the Town forced, and the Caſtle ſurrendred, in which were near two thouſand fighting men. The next day finding *La Roque* quitted, they purſue thoſe that were of the garriſon, who were all *Switzers*, whom they overtook, and made priſoners: Thus in the ſpace of one week, were taken four thouſand five hundred of the enemies army; which being ſo weakened: and the Duke of *Savoy* finding himſelf to be more than twenty thouſand ſtrong marching men, had deſigned to enter in to the Duchy of *Milan*; when lo, from *France* comes the concluſion of the peace, with a Command to the Marſhal *Leſdiguieres* to get the Duke of *Savoy*'s aſſent to it, which he effected: But return we now to the affairs of *France*.

Luynes ſeeing that ſo ſhort a time had veſted him with the entire ſpoyls of a moſt eminent Favourites ſeven years royle, having the ſole influence upon a young Prince of fifteen years old, whoſe Mother he had mortally offended, being himſelf but of mean parentage, and without any ſupport in the Kingdom, not ſtudied, nor any way verſed in State affairs, and yet governing all with a moſt abſolute authority, makes uſe of *Deageant*, and *Modene* as his chief Counſellors: And the next care he had, was to impoſe a Confeſſor upon the King, of an immediate dependance upon himſelf, ſo to awe him by their ſuperſtition (a powerful engine to work upon the ſpirit of a young Prince) and to place about his perſon petty inconſiderable fellows, who amuſed him with childiſh toyes, and kept ſo cloſe a ſiege about his perſon, that none could be admitted ſo much as to ſpeak to him in private: After this he cauſed the Queen-mother to be conveyed to *Blois*, where ſhe was moſt ſtrictly guarded: And then, that he might enrich himſelf with her wealth alſo, proceeded to the arraignment, and trial of the Marſhal *d'Ancre*'s Lady; in which he uſed ſuch unlawful ſollicitations, and took ſuch unuſual courſes to procure her death, that at her execution, the former hatred of the *Pariſians* againſt her was far exceeded by their paſſionate commiſeration of her preſent calamities; cauſed *Mangot* to be confined to his own houſe; the Biſhop of *Lucon* to be relegated

gated to *Avignon*, and *Barbin* was ſent to the *Baſtille*; and then marries the Duke of *Montbazon*'s daughter to ſtrengthen himſelf with an Alliance not obnoxious to envie; having for that reaſon refuſed the Duke of *Vendoſm*'s ſiſter.

When he had ordered theſe things after this manner, he cauſed to be convened at *Rouen*, the moſt eminent of the Nobility, together with the principal officers of the Parliaments (called the Aſſembly of *Notables*) that without parting from the King at all, he might put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the government of *Normandy*; where the diſunion of the Grandees, their infidelity, and puſillanimity, together with the baſe and ſervile ſpirits of the Officers and Deputies of the Parliaments, preſent at this Aſſembly, confirmed the Authority of this upſtart Favourite, ſo that every one yeilding to his yoak, he began now to think himſelf ſufficient to diſpoſe even of Fortune her ſelf.

The Duke of *Rohan*, who was now allyed to him by his wife, who was of his family, courts him too, among the reſt, endeavouring to reconcile him rather to the Queen, than the Prince, who from his Priſon had already ſent him Overtures and promiſes, that in exchange of his liberty, he would ſupport him with his aſſiſtance, and fixe him in an impregnable condition; He told him, that he could not long, keep them both priſoners; that he that was there before, his advancement could have no colour to lay his reſtraint to his charge; and that it was an eaſie matter to hinder his deliverance, that the Queens condition was different, who one time or other would eſcape from him; for though ſhe were kept alſo under guards, yet was it with more reſpect, and not as priſoner; and that ſuch guards were not ſo ſecure: He added moreover, that if the Prince regained any power in the State he would be a more dangerous oppoſite than the Queen-Mother could, that he was of a good wit, quick, highly ambitious, and covetous; that though he was not of a vindicative nature, yet was he not oblig ng neither, nor had he the leaſt friendſhip for any one; that being not able to detaine them both ſtill in priſon, it was neceſſary he ſhould ſtrengthen himſelf with the aſſiſtance of one of them; and that however he had diſpleaſed the Queen, yet would ſhe prove his ſurer prop, for that ſhe was not ſo prone to intermeddle with the affairs, as the Prince was; and the jealouſies that were between the King and the Queen (which he knew well enough how to mould to his own advantage) would be his ſecurity againſt them both; *Luynes* ſeeming ſatiſfied with theſe arguments, encouraged the Duke by all means to mediate this reconciliation; who having a ſervant nam d *La Ferte*, who was an intimate friend of *Barbin*, had by that means an op-

opportunity to let him know the ſervice he intended to the Queen his Miſtreſſe, to which the Duke of *Montbazon*, *Luynes* his Father-in-law, was alſo much inclined. *Barbin*, (by the means of *Bournonville*, Governour of the *Baſtille*, where he was a priſoner) gave the Queen intelligence of what had paſſed, adviſing her to write letters to the King, *Luynes*, and to the Duke of *Montbazon*; to the firſt, full of complaints of vindication of her ſelf, and of reſpect; to the other two to do her all good offices to the King: the draughts of which letters were firſt carried to the Duke of *Rohan*, who amended them, and corrected the acrimony of ſome expreſſions in them: But the Biſhop who was to carry theſe letters, in whom *Barbin* greatly confided, proved falſe, and moſt perfidiouſly betrayed the whole plot; yet, according to the inſtructions he received from *Deagent*, made he ſeveral journeys to the Queen, but with treacherous purpoſes to work the ruine of her, and all elſe that had a hand in this buſineſſe: But ſeeing that this deſign tended only to a reconciliation, and yeilded no colourable pretences to ground any accuſation on, they flie to ſubtilties; and in *Bournonville*'s name, deſire a Ring from the Queen, as a teſtimony of her acceptance of his ſervice, for that being brother-in-law to the Marſhal *Vitry*, he could not otherwiſe believe ſhe could have any good thoughts of him: The Queen, though ſomewhat ſurprized with this demand, yet could it not raiſe any jealouſies in her, for that the Biſhop who was employed in all theſe errands, was a creature of *Barbins*, made ſome difficulty to part with the Ring he deſired, as unwilling to give any thing that was not worthy of her, but promiſed to have one bought purpoſely at *Paris*; But he importuned her ſo much, that ſhe took one from one of the Ladies attending her, and gave it him: The Biſhop carries it to *Deagent*, who kept that, and cauſed another to be made juſt like it, which he conveyed to *Bournonville*, as if ſhe had voluntarily, and of her own accord ſent it him: After this they infuſed jealouſies into the King, that the Nobility had a deſign to ſurprize the *Louvre* to introduce the Queen, and reſtabliſh her in her former authority, and that all that were of the conſpiracy, wore a blew Ring on their finger, which was the cognizance of the party: And *Luynes* one day ſhuts the Duke of *Rohan* into his chamber, where he entertained him with diſcourſes, that the King was certainly informed that he was alwayes much devoted to the Queens ſervice, that he knew all his machinations for that end, and the ſecret negotiations of *La Ferte*; but of regard of his alliance to him, he had prevailed with the King to pardon him, and therefore now it was fit he ſhould tell him all: This propoſition was with much diſdaine rejected by the Duke, who replyed, that he

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was no Informer, and that he was glad they knew his actions which had no other aime than the King's service; that he confessed he was a servant to the Queen-Mother, and that it was the duty of every good Frenchman so to be.

After all these contrivances, and many others which never came to my knowledge *La Ferte* was taken prisoner, and committed to the *Bastille*, confronted with *Barbin*, and both of them were brought to their tryal; and notwithstanding the importunate sollicitations made in favour of them, and were admitted of purpose ly to intangle more people, the result of all was, the depriving *Bournezille* of the *Bastille*, the perpetual banishment of *Barbin*, and of *La Ferte* for five years, who, notwithstanding never stirred at all from his Master.

These violent procedures filled the Queen with great fears and jealousies, and made her more solicitous to free her self from this captivity, being now well assured that the hopes *Luynes* gave her of it, sometimes by *Cadanet*, sometimes by *Modene* were but only to amuse her, especially when she saw that the negotiation of *Arnoux* the Jesuite and the King's Confessour came to nothing; this Jesuite made the King solemnly swear at Confession, never to dislike what *Luynes* did, nor to meddle himself with any State affairs.

The consideration of all these things made her at length resolve to work her enlargement; and to effect it, by the advice of the Marshal *Boüillon*, she made choice of the Duke *d' Espernon*, whom she knew to be a man of great power, valour, and prudence: But he was displeased with her, and came to Court with full intention to side with the King; he must therefore be brought about; which the Queens servants deriving much advantage from the Favourites ill conduct, very dextrously performed: And first they terrifie *Luynes* with the great power, and haughty humour of the Duke *d' Espernon*; qualities not tolerable by one who aimes at a general adoration: On the otherside they exasperate the Duke, who was of a touchy nature, and unaccustomed to a base and servile subjection: The first occasion they took from his attempts to promote his youngest sonne to a *Cardinalat*, for the which he was the first upon the Roll, and received all possible assurance of it, but was put by, by the contrivances of *Villeroy*, who preferred *Marquemont*: But *Villeroy* dying immediately after, he continues his pursuit, with great hopes still: But the Cardinal *de Retz* having made *Deagent*, and by that means gained *Luynes*, carried it; but not without obliging himself by promises unworthy a person of quality, with poor and infamous submissions, which he still so religiously observed, that being afterwards made President

ſident of the Council, he ſeemed rather to do the duty of a Dep ty to *Deagent*, than of a Cardinal.

This was opportunely ſeconded by another occaſion deriv from the Keeper of the Seals, *Du Vair*, who, hurried by his ow pride, or the inſtigation of thoſe that were deſirous of new tro bles, would needs take place at the Council-table, of all th Dukes and Peers of *France*: The Duke *d'Eſpernon*, as the mo ancient that was then there, complains, in the name of all the reſt, of it to the King, who took it ill from him, and the in tereſt of the Gown-men, was preferred before that of the Peers of *France*: This ſtomached him ſo, that he brake out into many bitter invectives, even againſt the King himſelf; ſo that it was no hard matter to perſwade him that there was a deſigne to ſend him to the *Baſtille*, conſidering the late Preſidents before his eyes: The Queens ſervants, (who would not diſcover any thing of their intentions to him while he remained in *Paris*) ſo handſomely improved his jealouſies, that one morning very early, and without taking leave of any body, he goes thence to *Metz*. When he was there, *Ruccelay*, the chief contriver, and manager of the whole project begins with him, by moving a reconciliation between him, and the Marſhal *Boüillon*; and then imparts to him the Queens deſigne, with her requeſt to him, to procure her liberty, with many large promiſes annexed to it, of which, in ſuch caſes none are ſparing: The almoſt inſuperable difficulties and dangers of this enterpriſe, together with the ingratitude, the uſual recompence Princes reward great ſervices withal, at firſt ſtartled, and cauſed ſome heſitation in the Duke of *Eſpernon*: But then the glory would attend the execution of ſo high and noble a deſigne, the indignation he conceived at the ſmall regard was had of him, together with his deſire of revenge, (paſſions predominating in all great courages) overcame all the ſuggeſtions of his fears: When he had reſolved on it, he proceeds in it with that caution, ſecreſie, and good Fortune, that having made all neceſſary proviſions for *Metz*, where the King, purpoſely to keep him at a diſtance from the Court, where he feared him, amuſed him with pretended and imaginary deſignes, he paſſes through *France* into his governments of *Xaintonge*, and *Angoulmois*, and there effected the Queen-Mothers deliverance, on the one and twentieth of *February* one thouſand ſix hundred and nineteen, who came from *Blois* to *Loches*, a place belonging to the Duke, who there went to receive her with two or three hundred Gentlemen, who all conducted her to *Angouleſme*.

This eſcape of the Queen cauſed a great confuſion at the Court, where it was conceived that her party was much more numerous

numerous, or that it might quickly swell to a bigger bulk; wherefore great preparations were made for war, that the ensuing peace might be more advantageous: The command of the Army to be sent against the Queen was given to the Duke of *Mayne*, who was thought to be the most an enemy to her, and most faithful to *Luynes*; and because it was conceived that it would be acceptable to him, to him also was committed the charge of the negotiation of *Bethune*: Solicitations were also made in the behalf of the Bishop of *Lucon* (who till then had remained in exile in *Avignon*) for his return to the Queen, and inforced with promises made in his name, by his brother in Law *Pont Courlay*, to incline the Queen to such a peace as should shoot with the King's desires, and also to sowe jealousies between the principal authors of her deliverance; in which he failed neither of his endeavours, nor successe. For *Rucelay*, who had as largely contributed to her liberty as any one, left her in discontent, and drew with him the Marquesse of *Maumy*, and *Themines*, who afterwards proved one of the greatest enemies to the Queen, who found her self but in a bad condition to engage in a war, by reason that many envied the gallant action of the Duke *d' Espernon*; few would submit to his imperious humour, and every one believed that all would end in peace, and were therefore unwilling to imbarque in an affair, by which they should gaine nothing but the King's displeasure, and hatred, whilest others carried away the glory of the enterprise: For which reason also the Duke of *Rohan*, being sought to, by the Queen, sent her word, that he was much troubled that he was not privie to, and imployed in the beginning of her design; which if he had, he would have served her most faithfully: But being at Court then when she made her escape, he was commanded by the King to his government of *Poictou*, to preserve it in peace; that, for his part he would do her no harme, but advised her to make a peace, in which he was confident *Bethune* would serve her; and that being in full liberty, and security, she would have more favorable conveniencies to raise a greater number of servants and friends than at present: *Schomberg* did cleare otherwise for to endeare himself beyond the other Zealots for her ruine; he laid a plot to blow her up by firing the Magazine at *Angoulesme*, which was happily discovered, and prevented. At length was a peace concluded, and near *Tours* was the interview between the King and the Queen-mother, to whom was given the government of *Anjou*, and for her better security, the Castles of *Angiers*, *Pont de Cé*, and *Chinon*.

Come we now to the affairs of *Bearn*, the sourse and rise of all our evils, which will retract our view as far back as the dear-

of the Marſhal *d' Ancre*, after which *Du Vair*, Keeper of t Seals, being reſtored to his Office; upon the ſollicitations of t Biſhops of *Bearn*, and imagining he ſhould do ſo eminent action, as would gaine him ſuch reputation at *Rome*, would a vance him to the dignity of a Cardinal, he procured an order the King's Council, for reſtoring to the Eccleſiaſtiques of th Countrey their goods that were formerly alienated by authority, an had for fourty, or fifty years been imployed for the maintenan of their Miniſters, Academy, and the Garriſon in the Fort c led *Navarrins*. *La Force*, then Governour of that Countrey, w at Court at the ſame time, and mainly oppoſed the Order, ſhe ing the difficulties would obſtruct it, and the inconvenienci might ariſe from it; which I conceive he did with very ſincere in tentions: But being over-powered, turns his deſires to h own private advantage, and promiſes to promote the executi of it, upon condition he might be made Marſhal of *France*, which was promiſed him: But either the difficulties he met with all, or rage to ſee himſelf laughed at at Court, made him reſolv to ſtand it out againſt all; In which he met with great oppoſiti on in the Countrey, occaſioned by thoſe of the houſe of *Beau*, backed with the Count of *Grammond*, his deadly enemies, an by the politick practices of the Court, ſo that he was now hated by all parties for not doing what he might for the ſatisfaction o either.

The Duke of *Rohan*, who was his friend, patronized hi ſtill at Court, and, ſeeing that the Kings Commiſſioner *Renaul* caſt all the blame of the ill ſucceſſe he had in his voyage upon *La Force*, uſed all means poſſible to compoſe the buſineſſe, ſhewing that if the Province of *Bearn* ſhould addreſſe themſelves to the Reformed Churches of *France*, their particular might grow into a general cauſe, from whoſe circumſtances might arrive ſome accidents not eaſie to be remedied, and that it was the wiſeſt courſe to quench this fire before it were throughly kindled: That it was moſt reaſonable (ſince the thing was begun) that the King ſhould receive ſatisfaction, and the Countrey alſo ſhould be ſecured; and that partial perſons were moſt unfit to be imployed in it: Theſe reaſons were the better reliſhed, for that they already began to diſcover ſeveral Aſſemblies in the Provinces, and to fear the event of them: And now were things in ſo fair a way, that the Duke of *Rohan* had obtained a re-imburſement of the like ſum of money reſtored to the Eccleſiaſtiques, to be had out of the next receipts; and in caſe of non-payment, permiſſion was granted to the Countrey to ſeize again upon the goods of the Eccleſiaſtiques. But for as much as *La Force* found not his advantages in this accommoda-

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tion, he was eaſily induced to reject it, complaining to the Court, that to diſcredit him thus, was the way to diſable him for any future ſervices, and to thoſe of the Religion, that it was an introduction to the ruine of the Reformed Religion in their Country: And notwithſtanding that all the Churches of *France*, were, upon good deliberation, ſatisfied with this agreement, yet never could the people be induced to it, ſo that the diſpute laſted till the Convocation of the General Aſſembly of thoſe of the Religion at *Loudun*, the three and twentieth of *May*, one thouſand ſix hundred and nineteen.

Luynes in the mean time did all the ill offices he could to the Duke of *Rohan*, endeavoured to criminalize him, for buying the government of *Maillezais*, of *Aubigny*, and of a private houſe in *Poitou* which was very ſtrong, and which he compelled him to pull down; having, but a little before it was razed, engaged ſome in an attempt to ſurprize it; and though thoſe that had undertaken it, were taken as they were ready to put their deſigne in execution, yet ordered he things ſo, that he could not have Juſtice done upon them: After this, having releaſed the Prince from the *Baſtille*, to ſtrengthen himſelf with his power againſt the Queen, and the Prince declaring himſelf an open enemy to the Duke of *Rohan*, the Duke reſolves to adhere entirely to the Queens ſervice; of which he went to *Angiers* to aſſure her; and underſtanding of the party was raiſing for her, he adviſed her not to ſtay there, but to remove to *Bourdeaux*; that her moſt faithfull ſervants were the Dukes of *Mayne*, *Eſpernon*, and *Rohan*; that being there, ſhe would have a powerful Parliament to declare for her, and that there ſhe was ſecure from any invaſion before ſhe had an army ready to diſpute the field; that if ſhe ſtayed at *Angiers*, and that if *Pont de Cé* were taken from her, ſhe and her whole Party would be loſt without one blow ſtriking: that ſhe ought to give the greater confidence to this Council, becauſe it was to his own diſadvantage, for that being ſo near the King, he was like to be the firſt would ſuffer.

To this ſhe anſwered, That ſhe much approved of his Reaſons, but that if ſhe ſhould follow his advice, it would give the Duke d' *Eſpernon* ſuſpitions that ſhe intended to put herſelf wholly into the hands of the Duke of *Mayne*: Beſides, the hopes the Counteſſe of *Soiſſons* gave her from *Normandy*, built upon her Sonne-in-law the Duke of *Longueville*, who was lately made Governour of that Province, and was Maſter of *Dieppe*, and the Grand *Prior* who held *Caen*, and both of them had great correſpondences in *Roüen*, prevailed ſo upon her, that ſhe would by no means budge from *Angiers*: But deſired that the Aſſembly at *Loudun* might be

continued, which might have been effected, but then it muſt have been by making ſuch a diviſion as at *Saumure*; when the Duke of *Rohan* had conferred about it with the chiefeſt friends he had in the Aſſembly, and among others, with the Court of *Orval*, his brother-in-Law, who was very powerful among them, they concluded to accept of what the King offered, *viz.* Within ſix moneths to give the Aſſembly ſatisfaction in the affair of *Bearne*, and the reſtitution of *Leetour*, one of their cautionary Towns, which if not performed, then ſhould the Aſſembly convene again within one moneth after, and that at *Rochel*: This very well pleaſed the Queen, to whom it was farther manifeſted, that this new Convocation, being in ſpight of the Court, to be in the moſt conſiderable Town of their party, where none but the moſt reſolute would come, and ſo only binde the Aſſembly to her, together with all the Reformed Churches in the Kingdom; But withal they deſired her, that in caſe any peace was made, they might be ſatisfied concerning their two demands touching *Bearne*, and *Leetour*, which ſhe promiſed.

Now, ſo violent and tyrannical was the government of *Luynes*, that it had wearied all the world, and even his beſt friends alſo, as the Duke of *Maine*; for whom, a little before, he had procured the Government of *Guienne*, in exchange for that of the Iſle of *France*; and, not ſatisfied with this, he gives it to the Duke of *Montbazon* his father-in-law, and ſeizes upon that of *Picardy* with all the Fortreſſes there, and in lieu of it gives that of *Normandy* to the Duke of *Longueville*. Moreover, he and his two brothers were made Dukes, and Peers of *France*; and all vacant Offices, Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, and Penſions were ingroſſed by theſe three brethren, and diſtributed among their poor kindred that flocked in to them, from the parts about *Avignon*: So that jealouſie, and envie, together with the badde adminiſtration of the publique affairs had rendred them ſo odious, that every one betook himſelf to the Queens party; Even the Prince of *Piedmont*, to whoſe marriage with Madam the King's ſiſter, he had, not long before occaſioned; *Luynes* ſeeing himſelf charged on every ſide, but ſupported by the Prince, perſwades the King to prevent the Queen his Mother; and whiles by divers meſſengers, he entertains her with hopes of an accommodation, and corrupts, and ſeduces her followers, he makes freſh levies of ſouldiers; which ſhe perceiving, does the like, and by the Vicount *Sardigny* ſends a letter to his Majeſty to let him know, how ſhe is conſtrained to provide for the ſecurity of her perſon, to ſave her ſelf from the fury of her enemies, who abuſing his authority, imploy it to ruine her. This, with the advice of the Prince, haſtens the King into

into *Normandy*, to ſecure that Province, which was in a tottering condition, and much enclined to the Queen; but his Preſence, though accompanied with but a ſmall force, ſoon ſettled all: *Roüen* is ſecured, *Caën* yeilded, *Alençon* alſo, and all the Nobility ſubmit. This happy and unexpected ſucceſſe makes him proceed to *Mans*, and thence ſtraight to *Angiers*; Great was the confuſion this cauſed in the other party, eſpecially in the Biſhop of *Lucon*, who not ſuffering the Queen-mother to go where her greateſt forces lay, for fear leſt ſhe ſhould get out of his tuition, makes her reſolve upon a pitiful defence in a town of no conſideration, and an enemy to her party, that ſo intangling her in a neceſſity of ſubmitting to an inglorious Accommodation, he might make his own peace upon better termes; which he did, and from that time he ever held intelligence with the King's party. Moreover the Duke of *Retz*, whether it was, that his Uncle the Cardinal *de Retz* had gained him before, or whether his apprehenſion of the danger had altered his mind, moſt certain it is, that ſeeing the King's forces ready to fall on upon the works of *Pont de Cé*, of which he had undertaken the defence, upon an imaginary diſcontent that a peace was concluding without his privity, he ſuddenly quits them, and with all his troops repaſſes the *Loire*; Thus was *Pont de Cé* taken, and the Queen who had thirty thouſand good men ready in *Guienne*, *Poictou*, *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois*, was vanquiſhed by five or ſix thouſand only, and reduced to a neceſſity of accepting ſuch Articles as her enemies pleaſed to vouchſafe her; according to which, and her own particular order, the Dukes of *Maine*, *d'Eſpernon*, *Rohan*, and *Soubize* laid down their Armes.

Of

THE Memoires OF THE DUKE of *ROHAN*:

The ſecond Book.

Containing a Relation of the Warre againſt thoſe of the Reformed Religion in France.

AND now are we arrived at the ſourſe of all our evils, and fatal commencement of the Warres againſt thoſe of the Reformed Religion. The King, having thus happily put a period to this War, goes to *Bourdeaux*, where he ſuppreſſes the authority of the Duke of *Maine*, and commands the *Bearnois* that the late Decree be put in execution: But they, neither knowing how to obey him, nor defend themſelves, oblige him in perſon to a voyage into *Bearn*: And there it was they firſt began to ſlight and laugh at the performance of their parol engagements; For the next day after their arrival, and a ſolemne promiſe made to the *Bearnois* to preſerve their priviledges entire, were they totally deveſted of them, by the re-uni-

on of *Bearne* to *France*, and changing, contrary to the engagement of their faith given the Governour of *Navarrins*.

Moreover it is to be known, that the Deputy generall *Favas* who was in pursuit of the government of *Lectour* in the behalf of his son, the more to induce the Court to yeild to his request threatned to send to those at *Rochel* to convene the Assembly general, according to the power given them by the Assembly at *Loudun*: But seeing, that prevailed not to compasse his designe, and not considering how unseasonable it was, he writes to those of *Rochel*, from *Bourdeaux*, to cause the said Convention, advising them also to repair their fortifications; And thus are the publique continually swallowed up by private Interests.

When the King was returned to *Paris*, the Assembly general meets at *Rochel*, and *Favas* still followes the Court, to finde some means to accomplish his desires; His Majesty in the first place, forbids the holding of the said Assembly, next commands their dissolution, and lastly declares them Traytors: The chief of those of the Religion, conceiving that great prejudice to them would attend their obstinacy, were of opinion that they were best to dissolve upon certain conditions, of which they had hopes given them from the Court; But the Letters which *Favas* sent thence, together with the particular discontents of *La Force*, and *Chastillon*, by reason of the hard usage the one received in his Offices, and a desire the other had to have more, occasioned the continuance of the Assembly; whence the King took a pretence to prosecute his designes to the uttermost, to which, the baseness, and treachery of the Governours of the Cautionary Towns facilitated his accesse.

It is to be observed, that before the Kings departure from *Paris*, the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Mayne* were in great discontent retired into *Champagne*, and the Count of *Soissons* to *Fontevault*: The Duke *de Luynes*, that he might not leave such thorns in his back, was very desirous to reconcile them; and to move them to it, *Favas* was sent to informe the Dukes, that he was now going to the Assembly with full satisfaction to all their demands, and that it would be prudence in them to comply, before the determination of that affair; the like speech was made to the Count of *Soissons* by *Villarnoul*, which wrought all their returns to the Court, and occasioned the reconciliation between the Cardinal *de Guise*, and the Duke of *Nevers*.

After the reducing of these Princes, the assurance *Villarnoul* gave of *Saumure*, the defection of the Governours of the Cautionary Towns in *Poitou*, the revolt of *Pardaillan* with a part of *Guienne*, that of *Chastillon* in the lower *Languedoc*, and that by the

presence

reſence of the Duke *de Leſdiguieres* they were aſſured alſo of *Dauphine*; the King ſets forth, not to a Warre, but a certaine Victory: The Duke *de Luynes*, lately made Conſtable of *France*, goes with him, who ſo abſolutely poſſeſſed his Maſters favour, that in the progreſs of this Warre, we ſhall ſee, not the intentions of the King, but the Treaſons and diſloyalties of this Upſtart executed, who having by that means crept into a fortune, ruled all with a Soveraign power which he continued even to his death, leaving the King's Council ſuch a Copy, whoſe imitation would prove the ruine of the Kingdom.

The firſt teſtimony of the lubricity, and inſincerity of their words, was given at *Saumure*, which, to the violation of the Faith engaged in his Patent, was taken from *Du Pleſſis Mornay*: The ſame ſucceſſe alſo had all the Townes in *Poictou*.

The Dukes of *Rohan*, and *Soubize* his brother, who had oppoſed the convocation of the Aſſembly, and earneſtly endeavoured their diſſolution, when convened, ſeeing ſuch a rout, reſolved not to abandon the party: The Conſtable, who was their kinſman, many times ſent to try their pulſes; but neither his promiſes, nor threats, made the leaſt impreſſion on their conſciences, or fidelity: The laſt Meſſenger was the Colonel *Arnaud*, who brought them Letters from the King, full of perſwaſions to quit their reſolutions, and intermixed with menaces of an inevitable ruine in caſe they obſtinately perſevered in them; and withal to let them know that the firſt ſiege would be that of *Saint John d' Angely*: But this journey had a double end; for, in caſe he prevailed not upon the two brothers, he had Orders to conferre with the Major General *Auriac*, who was then at *Saint Julian*, about a quarter of a League from *Saint John*, with four thouſand men, to cauſe him to put in execution a deſign he was entred on, by means of the intelligence he had with the Captaines, *Galloix*, and *Vaux*, and two of the inhabitants, whoſe names were *Maſures*, and *Roquier*, who had promiſed, if he would approach with his Troops, and fall in upon the Suburbs called *Mata*, and thence make up ſtraight to the Gate, they would be ready there, with their confederates, and keep it open; which *Auriac* attempted the very next day after *Arnaud's* departure from *Saint John*: But the preſence of the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubize*, both which were yet in the Town, prevented their ſucceſs; *Soubize* was reſolved to abide a Siege; and *Rohan* three dayes after went to *Rochelle*, from whence he brought and put a thouſand men into the Town, with above an hundred Gentlemen, beſides two Barques laden with all manner of proviſions; and then went back to *Guienne*.

He

He was desired by the Assembly to reconcile *La Force* and *Pardaillan*, to which the former was very much inclined, but the other would not so much as see the Duke of *Rohan*, by which he clearly perceived his engagement to the Court: *La Force* desired *Rohan* to take a view of the Communalties of the lower *Guienne*, that he might the better take order for the security of the division the Assembly had allotted him. From thence he goes to *Bergerac*, *Saint Foy*, *Clerac*, and *Tonneins*, and thence to *Nerac*, where the Chamber, or Court of Justice yet was, but must be removed, before they could secure the Castle, where the Court sate, and where the President, a *Romanist*, lodged; who after many contests, at length withdrew with one Gentleman, whom the Duke of *Rohan* gave him for his Convoy as far as *Marmande*: But the President made but an unhandsome return of this civility: For when he returned to *Tonneins*, he gave *Vignoles* intelligence of it, who about a League from *Tonneins* lay in ambush for him, with six or seven score Gentlemen Volunteers armed at all points, and three other Troops, who let them pass, and then the first Troop followed their Reare, the second marched up to flanck them, and the third, which was the strongest, between the other two, that they might be ready to relieve the other upon all occasions: The Marquess *de la Force*, who commanded *Rohan*'s light Horsemen, was left to make good the retreat, with thirty of *La Force* his guard, whom he caused to alight from their Horses, and thirty other Horse, among which there were but ten *Cuiraſſes*: The Marquess advertises *Rohan* and *La Force*, that the enemy marched towards him, whereupon they face about, and advance, commanding him to charge them: But the first Troop instead of receiving the charge, flew off towards *Vignoles*; when presently half of *La Force*'s Guards gave them a Volley, which killed and hurt about five or six Men and Horses, which made them keep off at a Musquet shot distance from them. The second Troop, which flanked them, perceiving a little Ditch between them and *Rohan*, fell off, as the first did: Which *Vignoles* seeing, advanced not at all with the third, so that without any further interruption, they kept on their way to *Tonneins*: Among the Troops of *Rohan*, and *La Force*, were there but fourteene *Cuiraſſes*; and of Gentlemen and their servants, not above seventy six Horse.

After this, *Rohan* left *La Force* who very exactly knew the Countrey of the lower *Guienne*, and went from *Nerac* to *Montauban*, fetching a compass of above five and thirty Leagues, by reason that the Marshal *Themines* lay in his way, and arrived there on the eighteenth of *July*, One thousand six hundred and twenty

twenty one: At *Montauban* he received intelligence that *Nerac* was beſieged by the Duke of *Maine*, who commanded in to him the Marſhal, and all the Nobility of *Guyenne*: *La Force* at the ſame time makes an attempt upon *Caumont*, ſurprizes the Town, and layes a ſiege to the Caſtle; The Duke of *Maine* having a ſtrong Army, reſolves to releive it, and to continue the Siege of *Nerac* alſo, in which he had a fortunate ſucceſs; and the Duke of *Rohan*, to divert *Themines*, lies down before *Septfons*, a place belonging to himſelf; and when he had drawn him thither, with above five hundred Volunteers, he retired to *Realville*, and the Marſhal to *Puy-la Roque*: whence, after three or four dayes abode there, he drew away againe, and the Duke went to *Montauban*, to preſerve the adjacent Countrey from the ravage and ſpoile intended by the Marſhal, who followed him thither, where there paſſed between them ſome light skirmiſhes, of no great conſequence.

Whiles the Duke of *Rohan* remained at *Montauban*, came news to him, of the rendition of *Saint John*, and alſo of *Pons*, which was ſold by *Chaſteau-neuf*, of the revolt of *Pardaillan*, the loſs of *Saint Foy*, and alſo of *Bergerac*, by the treachery of *Pardaillan*, and *Paniſſaults*; of the taking of *Nerac* by the Duke of *Maine* (who was drawing towards *Gaſcony*) which was followed alſo with the loſs of *Lectour*, *Leyrac*, *Mas de Verdun*, *Mauvoiſin*, and the *Iſle-Jourdan*; all which places the Governours for money yielded up into the hands of the Duke of *Maine*. Nor did they behave themſelves better in the lower *Guienne*: For *Tournon*, *Mont-Flanquin*, *Puymirol*, and divers other places were delivered by their Governours; and, which is moſt prodigious, *Favas*, that was then with the Aſſembly general, at *Rochelle*, commanded his ſonne to give up to the King *Caſtel-Jaloux*, and *Caſſetz*, two cautionary places, and remote from the King's way about twelve or fifteen Leagues. In ſhort, of all that great Province, no place made any ſemblance of oppoſition but *Clerac*, which was well fortified and manned, there being in it (compriſing the Inhabitants) three thouſand fighting men.

Theſe great loſſes made the Duke conceive, that ſeeing there had not been any reſiſtance made in *La Force*'s diviſion, he ſhould ſuddenly have the Royal Army upon him: Wherefore he takes care to provide for *Montauban*, marks ſome of the out-places neceſſary to be fortified, makes up the Regiment of the Count *d' Orval* ten Companies, reduces the Inhabitants into thirty, and orders all things fitting for a long Siege, and reſolves himſelf to go to *Caſtres*, thence into the lower *Languedoc*, to raiſe

raiſe up their dejected ſpirits there, and prepare ſome relief *Montauban*.

He departs thence attended on by his own guards, and companied by the Count *d' Orval* and his, fords over River *Tarn* near the Iſle of *Albigeois*, where he met with ſo oppoſition; at this paſs, was the Captain of his guards wounde the Captain, with ſome of the Count *d' Orval's* guards, a one of his Mules were killed, and his Gendeman of the Hor had his Horſe hurt: Thus paſſed they to *Caſtres*, when the Count *d' Orval* returned to *Montauban* to expect t Siege.

In the mean while, the Duke of *Rohan*, that he might l no time, ſends to the *Sevenes*, and the lower *Languedoc*, for ſupply of four thouſand men, and he himſelf goes as far as Mi *laud*, where he underſtood by the Meſſengers he had ſent thi ther, that though the people were generally well inclined, y would the Artifices of the diſaffected prevail over their good inte tions, unleſs he himſelf advanced to the *Sevenes*.

Chaſtillon, at the ſame time, ſent *Briquemaut* to the Duke of *Rohan*, to invite him to a conference, which he accepted of, and to that end advanced as far as *Saint Hippolyte*, where the ſaid *Briquemaut* returns againe to the Duke from *Chaſtillon*, t let him know, that he very much wondred that he ſhould ente into the diviſion allotted him; and that he ſuſpected it was with a deſign to prejudice his authority; It was anſwered him, That certainly he had no good memory, and withal was ſhewn him the Letter he had written to the Duke, that the only expedient to drive him out of the *Sevenes*, and ſtop his paſſages into the lower *Languedoc*, was, not to impede the ſuccours he had demanded, which rather than faile of, he would encounter all difficulties whatſoever: that if he was deſirous of an interview, he was very ready to ſatisfie him; and that if he would in perſon go to the relief of *Montauban*, as he had offered, he was confident, they two would be able to procure the peace of the whole Kingdom.

In ſhort, after he had ſtrugled with many difficulties, he drew at length four thouſand Foot out of the lower *Languedoc*, and the *Sevenes*, and, with his own money raiſed a thouſand more, with which he returns againe towards *Millaud*, from whence he ſent Orders to *Mulauge*, *Leran*, and *Saint Rome*, who in his abſence commanded; the firſt in *Albigeois*, and *Rouergue*; the ſecond in *Foix*; and the third in *Lauraguais*, to make ready the forces of the *Colloques*: He ſent to *Caſtres* alſo, and upon his march cauſed all neceſſary proviſions of meal, and bread, for the nou-

riſhe

riſſment of his Souldiers to be made ready.

In the mean time the King having beſieged, and by reaſon of their inteſtine diviſions for want of a Commander in Chief, taken *Clerac*, and ſeized upon all the places about *Montaubon*, except *Saint Antonin*, ſate down with his Army before *Montauban* on the one and twentieth of *Auguſt*, One thouſand ſix hundred and twenty one, (where *La Force*, with his two ſons, were gotten in) and ſent the Duke of *Angouleſme*, with fifteen hundred Horſe, and foure thouſand Foot, to lie upon the River *Tarn*, and intercept the relief was preparing for *Montauban*; who made as if he would beſiege *Lombez*, a place, about half a League from *Realmont*, where there was a Caſtle that commanded the Town, and held alwayes for the King. The Duke of *Rohan*, receiving intelligence of it from *Malauze*; and alſo of the conſpiracy in agitation for the delivery of *Caſtres*, with all ſpeed ſends away *Boyer*, one of his Colonels, with a thouſand foot, and a faithful promiſe to follow him ſuddenly with the reſt of the Army.

When *Boyer* came to *Caſtres*, he found that *Malauze* had drawn his main Body to *Realmont*; whither his coming alſo, with this ſupply, raiſed the Duke of *Angouleſme* from before *Lombez*; whereupon *Malauze*, inſtead of expecting the arrival of the Duke of *Rohan*, as he had commanded him, but ſuffering himſelf to be carried away with the importunity of the multitude, goes with one piece of Canon, which he drew out of *Realmont*, to beſiege a Church that was Gariſon'd and Fortifi'd, called *La-Fauch*, which as *Boyer* was viewing he was ſlaine, and the Duke of *Angouleſme* at the inſtant the Church was ſurrendred, came and incloſed the reſt of the party with his whole Army: After ſeveral charges and skirmiſhes, in which *Balauze* behaved himſelf with much Gallantry, and *Saint Rome* alſo, in reſcuing him, (for he charged through the mid'ſt of the enemy, with fifty Gentlemen (many of whom he loſt) they capitulated to march off with their Armes, all but their Canon; and, for the ſpace of ſix months not to beare Armes for the party: Thus were all the forces with their Chiefs, and all the Nobility of *Albigeois*, and *Lauraguais*, diſabled from any ſervice for the remaining part of that, and untill *March* the year following.

The Duke of *Rohan*, for his part, loſes no time, but advances with his Troops, and while his Rear-guard was marching up to him, draws the Canon out of *Millaud*, takes *Saint George* a ſmall, but well incloſed place, and *Luzanſon* a private houſe lying between *Millaud* and *Saint Afrique*, in which there was a Gariſon that extreamly incommoded his paſſage; and had

had continued till he had cleared the whole way, had not the intelligence he received of the defeat at *Fauch* diverted him; that made him double his pace, so that he came very opportunely to *Castres*; for *Lombez* was surrendred, *Realmont* was in Treaty, and the whole Countrey in a drooping condition: He cheered them up the best he could; yet all he could do, was not sufficient to get thirty Gentlemen, nor two hundred Foot together in all the upper *Languedoc*; So that his whole dependance was only on those he brought with him from the Lower *Languedoc*, and the *Sevenes*.

Another fear also perplexed him, lest in his absence, *Chastillon* should recall his Troops, to prevent which, he opposed against him an Assembly of five Provinces, *viz.* The Lower *Languedoc*, the *Sevenes*, *Vivarets*, the Upper *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*, who impowered him to detaine the supplyes he already had, and to raise more in case he had occasion for them.

Things being in this condition, the Duke sends to discover what Fordes were passable and not guarded, furnishes himself with good guides, and formes his design to relieve *Montauban*, at the same time, by the way of *Ville-nouvelle*, by *Saint Antonin*, and of *Ville-Bourbon* by *Carming*. The first of which is five Leagues distant from *Montauban*, the other ten; so that he intended to put in his greatest relief, consisting all of Foot, on that side; and the lesser, composed of *Dragoons*, and threescore *Reformado's* only, on the other.

In the interim of these actions, the Constable *Luynes* seeing that his Embassies sent to the Duke of *Rohan* by *Saint Angel* and *Saludie*, could not move him, nor the perswasions of the Duke of *Sully*, and *Lesdiguieres* those of *Montauban*, who still replyed, That they would do nothing without the advice and consent of their General, resolved at length to give them leave to send their Deputies to him (who were conducted by *Desplans*) to try if that might produce an accommodation, who came just as the relief was ready to march: And very opportunely too; for the Duke understanding by them, that they wanted nothing but men, and that if they had but a thousand, or twelve hundred more, they were confident they should be able to hold out all that Winter, he promised them that, within eight dayes they should have the recruit they desired, gave them the Word, and Signal, and so they returned.

The Duke of *Rohan* had five hundred *Dragoons*, whom with hopes of pillaging the Countrey up to the very Gates of *Thoulouse*, he had encouraged to advance towards *Puylaurens*, *Cuc*, and *Carmaing*,

Carmaing; but when they were all met at their appointed Rendezvous, he sent them orders, by one of his Gentlemen to march directly to *Montauban*, which orders were not observed, either by reason of too much consideration, or apprehension of the danger, though there were less on that, than on the other side.

As for the other relief, commanded by *Beaufort*, one of his Colonels, it was better ordered: He marched from *Castres* in the evening, with about a thousand or twelve hundred men, comes to *Lombez* about one of the clock in the morning, where he stays till the next night, then fordes the *Tarn* at *Grave*, marches all night, and the next evening about five of the clock comes to *Saint Antonin*, without any ill *rencontre* at all: There he stays all the next day, and in the evening sets forward towards *Montauban*.

But the falseness of the guides he had taken up at *Saint Antonin*, who betrayed him, forced him to return thither againe: Three dayes after they sent him a guide from *Montauban*, who safely conducted him over the River *Veyron* at a Forde, and brought him very well within half a League of the Town; whence, notwithstanding the several parties both of Horse and Foot he perpetually met with between that and the Town, and the many Redoubts and trenches that obstructed his passage, he vanquished all those difficulties, and put seven hundred men, and nine Colours into *Montauban*: But *Beaufort* himself came short of it, being taken in this brave action: And it is to be observed, that this relief which consisted all of Foot, matched every day almost eighteen Leagues in an enemies Countrey, forded through two dangerous Rivers, and passed through the mid'st of two Royal Armies that lay in wait to defeat them.

The Duke of *Rohan* took a double course to prosper the design of this relief; one was by sending *Calonges*, and *Des-Isles*, with *Desplans* to consult with those before *Montauban*, about some way of accommodation, the other was, by marching at the same time that *Beaufort* did, with forty Colours of Foot, and those few Horse he had, towards *Lauraguais*: So that when the Duke of *Angoulesme* was ready to pursue *Beaufort* with all his Cavalry, he received intelligence that the Duke of *Rohan*, with the greatest part of his forces, was upon his march for *Lauraguais*, which put such a Dilemma on him, that he knew not which way to turn; and in the mean time *Beaufort* passes through the mid'st of his Army, and the Duke of *Rohan*, the day following, return'd to *Castres*, and sent back his Troops to the places whence he had drawn them.

Calonges

Calonges and *Des-Isles* were in the King's Quarters, who these supplies got in, and thence returned to *Castres* with *Deplans*, who from the Constable carried the Duke of *Rohan* an invitation to an interview, which he accepted of; and notwithstanding the diſſwaſions of the people of *Castres*, and almoſt every one that was about him, he went to *Villemur*, and had a conference with him at *Reviers*, about a League from *Montauban*; where after an exchange of many complements, the Conſtable led him aſide into an Alley, and there began with him in this manner; I am much obliged to you that you have repoſed ſuch confidence in me; it ſhall not at all deceive you; you are no leſs ſecure here than in *Castres*: Being entred into your alſyance, I cannot but be ſtudious of your proſperity; deprive me not of the opportunity, during the favour I enjoy, to augment the ſplendour of your houſe. You have relieved *Montauban* even before your Soveraign's face, a glorious and heroick action; but abuſe it not: It is high time for you to mind your own and your friends advantage; the King will never conſent to a general peace; ſee therefore that you make conditions for your friends and ſervants, and let thoſe of *Montauban* know that they have but a ſhort reprieve from their ruine; that the Forts and Lines drawn about them, have barred up alwayes to their further relief that, unleſs they now accept of reaſonable termes, to wit, either a Cittadel, Garriſon, or Demolition of all their fortifications, you will utterly deſert them: As for *Castres*, and the reſt of the places in your diviſion, propoſe what you pleaſe, and it ſhall be granted; and for your own particular, a blanck is offered you, inſert your own conditions. In vaine may you hope for any aſſiſtance from *Germany*; they have more need to crave, than lend aide; or from *England*; you know the peaceable humour of that King; or from within our own Kingdome; the Queene Mother has all her ſupport from *Spaine*, *Rome*, *Savoy*, and the *Jeſuites*, who are no friends to the *Huguenots*; and as for *Monſieur* the Prince, a piece of money ſwayes him any way; As for *Monſieur* the Count of *Soiſſons*, I have received Letters from him and from his Mother, who is ready to ſend him in to the King: As for the other Grandees of *France*, I doubt not but you receive encouragement from them; but 'tis with intention to purchaſe their own ends at your expence. I have, with much difficulty, hitherto hindred the confiſcation of your eſtate and Governments, I cannot longer oppoſe it; you muſt either reſolve to fall under a certain and ignominious ruine, or to advance your houſe to a greater height than it ever yet knew: For if you perſiſt in your obſtinacy, the King will rather yield to all thoſe of the Religion,

ligion besides, that he may have the satisfaction of making an example both of your person and family: But if you will now credit me, you shall break through these dangers with honor, and the favour of your King, and obtain whatever you shall desire, as to your own fortune, whose encrease I so much desire, as that it may be a support to mine.

To which the Duke of *Roban* answered, I should be an enemy to my self, if I desired not my Prince his favour, and your friendship; I shall never refuse either goods or honours from my Master, nor from you the Offices of a good Kinsman: I very well consider the danger I am in, but I beseech you also reflect upon yours; you are mortally and universally hated, for that you alone ingross that which is the object of every ones desire: The ruine of those of the *Religion* is not so near, but that they may afford leasure enough to the Male-contents to forme their parties, and those that will not openly declare for us, will yet comply in any thing that may tend to your destruction. The beginnings of the Warres against those of the Religion, have commonly been with great disadvantages to them, which yet the restless and volatile humour of the *French*, the discontents of those that ruled not, and strangers have many times repaired: If you can obtaine a peace for us from the King, before the like mischiefs happen againe, it will be much for his honour and advantage; For having subdued the party without the least check, without any appearance either of divisions within, or relief from without, he will oblige his conquered, and manifest to the world, that 'tis not the Religion he persecutes, but the Professours of it; for their pretended disobedience, will break the neck of all other factions, and, without any prejudice received, will return a feared and honoured Conquerour: This will also redouble your credit with him, and seat you in a condition above the reach of any attempt whatsoever: But if you drive things on to the extremity, and this torrent of prosperity continue not its course, as it is like to finde a bay at *Montauban*, every one will re-erect his spirits, depressed by the businesse of *Pont de Ce*, and our later losses here, and infinite perplexities will you be involved in: Consider that you have already gathered all the fruits, that either your promises, or threats can produce, and that what is left of us fight for a Religion we believe to be the true one. As for my part I have already considered of the los of my estate, and Offices, which if you have retarded out of respect to our alliance, I am obliged to you for it, but am fully resolved, and prepared for all extremities, being solemnly engaged by promise, my conscience also commanding me, not to hearken to any but a gene-

 ral

Peace. This

This Conference, because they would not admit of a g
ral Treaty, proving ineffectual, the Duke of *Roban* returne
Castres. The difficulties at the Siege of *Montauban* dayly
creasing, the Constable listened to the better dictates of hi
cond thoughts, and renewed the Treaty: But the unsteadine
his spirit, too fickle to perfect any thing, and the contradict
he met with from those that desired a continuation of the W
intangled him still in delayes, till the King was necessitate
raise the Siege of *Montauban*, on the eighteenth of *Novem*
One thousand six hundred twenty one, where *La Force*, an
first *Consul Dupuy*, a man of great authority and courage o
ed all things so exactly for the defence of the Town, and ex
tion of the publick resolutions, that they may wor
claime a great part in the honour of preserving the place.

The Duke of *Roban* in the mean while, had sent his troo
into the County of *Foix* upon the sollicitation of *Leran*, w
with them took in some Castles. and afterwards laid Siege to
reilles, which was relieved, and he, in some disorder, retire
to *Pamiers*: But seeing the King's Army now at liberty, hav
quitted the Siege of *Montauban*, he took care to provide for th
places were most in danger; and remanded his Forces from Fo
Saint Florent, one of his Colonels, and a Kinsman of the Co
stables, to make his own conditions, had intended to seize upo
Saint Effuel; and in pursuance of that design, and that he mig
with less difficulty be received into the Town, with his Regimen
counterfeited a Letter from the Duke of *Roban*; But the *Co
suls*, forewarn'd of his purposes, refus'd to let him in; so tha
the stay he made thereabouts, gave the enemy an opportunity to
prepare an Ambascade for him between *le Mas* and *Rivel*,
where in the night time he was totally defeated, without any re
stance made of his side.

Mirambeau the eldest son of *Pardaillan*, perceiving tha
his father had compounded for *Monheur*, and *Saint Foy*, and
that he was to deliver them up to the King as he marched by, en
ters and seizes upon *Monheur*, the news of which hurried hi
father thither, who treats him very severely; and thinking he
had now entirely secured that place, returns to *Saint Foy* to mak
sure of that also: But God would not suffer his treachery to e
scape longer unpunished, raising up *Savignac* of *Nisse*, who la
in wait for, and slew him in an Inn in *Gensac*; whereupon *M
rambeau* in *Monheur*, and *Terbon* his brother-in-law in *Saint Fo
declared for the Party of the Religion: The King, having in
telligence of this alteration, sends speedily to block up *Monhe
and marches after in person with the rest of his Army, besieg
a

and takes it upon composition. During this Siege the Constable died of sickness; his death wrought a great change in the Court. The Queen-Mother, seeing her self rid of her deadly enemy, begins to cheer up again; The Prince also returns to the Court, in hope now to Parliament it there; every one aims at the vacant place; and all remembrance of the designes contrived in the Constables life time was buried with him.

The Cardinal *de Retz*, and *Schomberg*, usurp the management of the State affairs, the Prince came to wait upon the King at *Poitiers*, who joyned with them, and so potent was their party grown, before they came to *Paris*, as that the endeavours of the Queen-Mother, and all the Ancient Ministers of State, were nothing available to incline things to any propensity to peace. The Duke of *Lesdiguieres*, upon some commotions raised in *Dauphine* by *Montorun*, immediately after the Siege of *Montauban*, got leave to go thither, and take order for their suppression. The Duke of *Rohan* also sent back all the Troops he had out of the lower *Languedoc*, and the *Sevenes*, whither we must now reflect, to see what this interim produced there.

Chastillon proposes to the Assembly of the five Provinces, the recalling of their Forces, upon presence to relieve the lower *Languedoc*, which yet was no way invaded, but they rejected the proposition; so that, this invention taking no effect, as to prevent the Duke of *Rohan* of new supplies; he causes a new levy to be made (at which he was not present himself) which the Assembly gave way to, upon the engagement of the Captains to wait upon him, in case the Duke of *Rohan* should command them, which yet they refused to do upon his summons, saying, That they owned no General but *Chastillon*, but trifled away their time in besieging *Alais*, a paltry Town of no importance. In short, *Chastillon* in all things, and places, opposed the authority of the Assembly, who, in requital (with the assistance of the people) devested him of all his power, forcing him to quit *Montpellier*, and retire to *Aiguemortes*, while they detained his Son, and Mother-in-law. *Bertichieres* who was chosen Lieutenant of the lower *Languedoc*, adhered to the Assembly, who having tasted the sweetness of their authority, would by no means hear of a General, but continued their government till the latter end of the year, that the people began to find it insupportable; which they perceiving, elected the Duke of *Rohan*, who immediately set forward towards the Provinces and came to *Montpellier* on *New-years-day*, 1622.

At his arrival there the Duke found the Provinces of the lower *Languedoc*, and the *Sevenes*, engaged in such broyles against the Assembly of the five Provinces, that he was necessitated to spend the whole month of *January* in endeavours to compose them: The Provinces declared that the Assembly had exhausted their treasures, of which they were resolved they should render them an account; and that, since there was a General chosen, they ought no longer to prolong their Session.

The Assembly on the other side, maintained, That they ought no account to any but to the Assembly general, from whom they derived their authority; that they ought to continue in full power, till a final determination of all affairs; that the General ought to have no other Council but themselves; and that to them belonged the sole management of the *Finances*; that they were Superiour to the particular Provinces, who had nothing to do to supervise their actions, nor had they power of themselves to summon any Conventions; and perswaded the Duke to interdict them, as themselves, before his arrival, had intended to have done: But he, seeing the Province of the *Sevenes* was already convened, and that the lower *Languedoc* was resolved upon the like course, endeavoured to get the Assemblies allowance of it, who instead of assenting to it, because they foresaw it would much impaire the continuation of their Session, resolved on other wayes to prolong it. And first of all they used all possible means to possess themselves of the Castle of *Sommiers*, backed by *Berticheres*, who pretended a right to it, and addressed themselves to *Chastillon* for his assistance: But defeated of their purposes by the diligence of the Duke of *Rohan*, and the Castle secured, they turn their applications to the Duke *de Lesdiguieres*, to whom they described the Duke to be an ambitious person, desirous to perpetuate the War, that he might continue his power; and declaring also, that they had rather submit to a peace with the King upon any terms, than to his Tyranny; and that if he intermedled further with them, he should be taught to know the limits of his power; But he refusing to hearken to them, and all their other attempts failing of the success they aimed at, they send Deputies to the *Sevenes*, and the lower *Languedoc*, where the Duke was, who to prevent a further rupture (which proved a matter of great difficulty, so much were the Provinces of *Languedoc* incensed against the Assembly) got them to allow of the actions of the Assembly of the five Provinces, to receive their Deputies into their protection; that there should be no peace concluded without provision for their security, but that they should forbear to Act as an Assembly, till the business were fur-

further determin'd by the Assembly general, to whom all parties were to send their reasons; and that two Deputies of the Assembly of the five Provinces, should be of the Duke of *Rohan*'s Council.

It is to be observed, that after the Duke's arrival at *Montpellier*, the Assembly that sate there, before his face, disposed absolutely of the *Finances*, and of all other affaires, made Laws, gave pass-ports, and protections; and in all that time referred nothing to his Council of War but one quarrel to be pieced up there; And when the Duke proposed to them a Convention of the States of all *Languedoc* to be held at *Millaud*, to consult about the raising of money, and to provide for the administration of Justice, they stiffely withstood it, because they feared it was to abrogate their authority.

When they had occasion to send to the Assembly general, the Duke moved that they would send joyntly with him and the other Provinces; but they were still for several Deputations, being resolved to calumniate him, what they could; which they did sufficiently by their Envoy *Babat* a Minister, who recounted the wonders they did, before the Duke came among them, who had since confounded all by his ambition; that, he pursued his own, at the expence of the publick Interest; that having ruined *Foix*, and *Albigeois*, he would do as much to the lower *Languedoc*, where he began to fix himself, and play *Rex*; that they were better fall into the hands of the King, and entirely submit to his will, than to be subject to this Duke; and that at length they should be faine to recall *Chastillon*: That they should beware of coming under the power of *Soubize*, who desired nothing more than the dissipation of the Assembly general, and had already written to the Duke, that it was composed only of seven or eight pitiful Rascals; and for conclusion, that if they would but impower them to continue their Session, they would curb the Duke well enough.

After the Convention of these Provincial Assemblies, the Duke of *Rohan*, considering, on one side, the preparations made by the Duke of *Montmorency* to invade him, the Levyes of the Duke of *Guise* in *Provence*, for the same purpose, *Chastillon*'s plots to undermine him, and the Levyes of the Duke *de Lesdiguieres* to invade *Vivarets*; And on the other, the miserable condition he found the Provinces, he came to serve in, by reason of the many needless armings *Chastillon* had made there, to the great discouragement of the Souldiery, and ruine of their friends Countrey, whence the Troops never stirred, exhausting of their treasures, and stores of Sale; aggravated by the impossibili-

an of recovering more, by reason of *Aigremarets*, which incommoded their Commerce, he resolved with all speed to hasten his Levies.

Blaccons Lieutenant of *Vivarets*, being in the mean while hard beset by the Duke of *Lesdiguieres*, sollicites the Duke of *Rohan* for a supply of five hundred men, and withal, that he would make haste to follow them with his whole forces; Those of *Barjeux* and *Gignac*, likewise demand some relief, for that the Duke of *Montmorency* had surprized *Lunas*, and forced *Gressessac*, both private houses, besieged *Fougeres*, and threatned also the above named places: The Duke, having no Forces on Foot, and two Armies upon his hands, excluding the Troops of *Provence*, goes to the *Sevenes* to try if he could thence pass five hundred men into *Vivarets*; but at the straights near *Villeneufve de Berg*, were they repulsed, which obliged him to send to the Duke of *Lesdiguieres*, to see if he could by any means retard his advance: But, notwithstanding his Remonstrances, and the dead of Winter besides, he continues his march with six thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse; to make a Bridge over the *Rhone*, between *Bay* and *Pousin*, besieges *Pousin*, and batters it, which abides his assault, *Blaccons* gets in to it, and behaves himself bravely in the storme; at length, the place being ready to be lost, by the mediation of him, whom the Duke of *Rohan* had sent to the Duke *de Lesdiguieres*, was yielded to him, upon condition, that if the peace (they were now in Treaty on) were not concluded, he should again restore it to those of the Religion; that he should forthwith withdraw his Army, and should not make any further attempts in *Vivarets*, nor *Languedoc*: And he for his part promised, as soon as possible, to send the President *Du Gue* to proceed in the Treaty for a Peace.

The Province of *Vivarets* Assembled at *Privas*, approved of all, and wrote to the Duke of *Rohan*, in favour of *Blaccons*, that he would confer on him the Government of *Bay*, which he granted.

The Duke, thus freed of the Army of *Dauphine*, thinks now of Victualling *Gignac* (which was well near starved by reason of a Church well fortified, and strongly garison'd by the enemy, distant about a Musket shot from the Town, the whole Country round about them being enemies also) and advancing with his Army to oppose the progress of the Duke of *Montmorency*: In order to which he came to *Montpellier*, where he presently fell sick of a Feavor, which lasted him fifteen dayes; In the mean while the President *Du Gue*, that at the beginning of his Malady came to see him, was cruelly assassinated in the Town, and *Berticheres*, by his order, Victualled *Gignac*.

His

Having recovered his health, about the beginning of *March* and ſpeeded his Levies, he took the field, before he was well able to endure it, *Berticheres* made a motion to attach the Tower *Charbonniere*, that opening that paſſage they might have Salt by that way, and conſequently money to defray part of the charges of the War; *Saint Blancart*, Governour of *Pecrais*, ſeconded the Propoſition, ſo that, that deſigne was concluded on; *Chaſtillon* preſently had notice of it, and the Duke of *Rohan* was informed that *Berticheres* had faithfully promiſed him that he would raine all his troops: Wherefore the Duke reſolved to refer this buſineſſe to a farther debate; at which he urged againſt *Berticheres* the difficulty of the ſiege; *Saint Blancart* thereupon ſtood up, and ſaid, That unleſſe they reſolved on it, he would comply with *Chaſtillon*, there being otherwiſe no poſſibility of their ſubſiſtence; ſo that he was conſtrained to yeild to it; and in the meane while he makes an attempt on *Beaucaire*, which ſucceeding not, by reaſon of the extream coldneſſe, and tempeſtuouſneſſe of the night, it was executed in, he returned to the Tower *Charbonniere*, where he found that inſtead of advancing, they were driven off, and that they had ſuffered *Chaſtillon* to fortifie ſeveral intrenchments he had made upon a Cauſey, which at firſt might have eaſily been forced, but would now require more than a moneths time to take them. Moreover, they had drawn off thoſe ſouldiers the Duke had lodg'd between *Aiguemortes* and *Charbonniere*; all which he well conſidering, without imparting his reſolution to *Berticheres*, ſends to block up the Caſtle of *Montlaur*, that hindred the intercourſe between *Montpellier*, and the *Sevenes*, and afterwards went in perſon to the ſiege of it, with intent to draw off the Duke of *Montmorency* from *Bedarieux*, who ſpent ſo much time in taking of *Fougeres* that he could not come early enough before *Montlaur* was taken by aſſault.

Immediately after this action was over, the Duke *de Leſdiguieres*, impowered by the King, invites the Duke of *Rohan* to a perſonal Treaty for a Peace, which he aſſented to, leaving his Army under the command of *Berticheres*; At *Laval*, between *Barjac*, and *Saint Eſprit* was their interview, where they agreed on Articles to be treated on, and the Duke of *Rohan*, in his own, and the name of the Provinces of his Diviſion, appointed *Calongues*, *Des-Iſles*, *Dupuy of Montauban*, *Du Cros* of *Montpellier*, and *La Borée* of *Vivarets* for their deputies: Both he, and the Duke *de Leſdiguieres* joyntly advertiſe the Dukes of *Bouillon*, *Sully*, *Trimouille*, and *Soubize*, *La Force* alſo, and the Aſſembly general of this Treaty, that they might all ſend their Deputies to joyn with thoſe of the Provinces; informing them withal, that as concerning *Sauvenes*,

and the places of *Poiction*, they could not conclude any thing, but must remit them to other things to be terminated by the King himself: We must now leave the Deputies on their journies, to take a view of what passed in the lower *Languedoc*.

The Duke of *Rohan* returned to his Army, which he found at *Castelnau* near *Montpellier*; The Duke of *Montmorency*, with *Chastillon*, who was now joyned with him with his *Gens-d'armes*, or horsemen compleatly armed, and those of the Duke of *Guise*, which he had sent for out of *Provence*, had besieged *Courvoussee*, two leagues distant from *Montpellier*, which the Duke of *Rohan* had resolved to relieve, but the place being yeilded the next day, he encamped at *Saint John de Vedas*, and *Salle-neusve*, and the Duke of *Montmorency* at *La Veruve*, *Fabregues*, and *Saussan*; a small river called *Mousson*, parted them, so that for six dayes together, both armies played only with their Canon one upon another, after which the Duke of *Montmorency* retires to *Ville-neusve* a small Town upon the Lake. The Duke of *Rohan* the same day drew off to other quarters also, and in his march summoned *Saussan* in which was left a Garrison, which yeilded the next morning.

Bertichieres, whether it was that he feared the losse of his goods, or that he desired to ruine the Dukes Army, or that really he had received such intelligence, comes and tells the Duke, that for certain the Duke of *Montmorency* had passed the Lake, and was marching towards Saint *Gilles*, an Abbey belonging to *Bertichieres*, and a very convenient place for a Magazine; beseeching him to allow him fifteen hundred foot, and an hundred horse to prevent him, and that according to the intelligence he should receive from him, the rest of the forces might be in a readinesse to follow him; which the Duke granted him; and in the meane while, with two thousand men he had left, goes to besiege *Saint Georges*: But the Duke of *Montmorency* hearing that *Saint Georges* was besieged, and that the Duke of *Rohan*'s army was divided, returns to relieve it, takes up his quarters at *Saint John de Vedas*, a league from *Saint Georges*, and by discharging of two piece of Canon, gives them a signal of the succours he had brought, and that very night essayed to put in two hundred men, who were briskly repulsed. The next day the Duke of *Rohan*, leaving three hundred men to continue the siege, made choice of a very advantageous place to fight in, and there stayed all the day; and in the interim, sent with all speed to *Bertichieres* to command him back. That evening came *Blacquiere* to him, with a Regiment out of the *Sevenes*, and the next day *Malauze*, with fourscore horse from the upper *Languedoc*; and *Bertichieres* stayed not long behinde; so that the Duke being

now

now three thousand foot, and three hundred horse strong, in the very sight of the Duke of *Montmorency*, raises his batteries, and takes the place, which was yeilded upon composition, the defendants lives only saved.

Berticheres was the second time like to have been the occasion of another great fault, by his obstinate affirming that the Duke of *Montmorency* was retreated to *Ville-neufve*, and had left five hundred men at the Bridge of *Veruve*, which might be easily cut off: The Duke of *Rohan* was of a contrary opinion, averring, that if he himself were gone off, he would not have left those foot to the slaughter; the other desirous to evidence what he had affirmed, leads him towards the Bridge, where they found some forlorne parties of Musquetires in the ditches, which they soone made them quit; But *Rohan* perceiving that *Berticheres* had engaged a Regiment too far, commands all his forces, both horse and foot, to advance, and two field-pieces to be drawn after them; *Berticheres* closely pursues his designe, commands *Blacquiere*'s Regiment to storme the trenches at the Bridge, and another Squadron to second them; But this being but an extempore project, and executed without any precedent deliberation, was also without successe: For *Blacquiere*, and his Serjeant Major *Randon* being slaine with Musquet shot, the whole party retreated in disorder; and at the same instant the Duke of *Montmorency* drew all his Army into *Battalia*, firing two field-pieces on our men; *Rohan* made him the like return from his side, and all the remaining part of that day was spent in *Canonades*, and light skirmishes; the river *Mousson* still separating the Armies, who in the evening drew off to their quarters: There were ten or twelve slain on either side; and the Duke of *Montmorency* the second time retired to *Ville-neufve*; whence, leaving his Troops in Garrison in the adjacent places he went to *Pezenas*; which the Duke of *Rohan* having notice of, takes with him provision for two dayes, and with two Culverins marches that night to *Gignac*, blocks up the garrison'd Church adjoyning to it, raises his battery in the open day, and after the first Volley took it upon capitulation, and having demolished it, returns towards *Montpellier*; taking his way through the Valley of *Montferrant*, where he took and dismantled *Mattelais*, and other little places, and fortified Churches, which yeilded his souldiers good booty, which was the reason that some of the Troops of the *Sevenes*, finding themselves so near home, forsook him.

Montpellier thus freed from the inconvenience of the enemies Garrisons, made *Uses* desirous of the like benefit. Thither the Duke of *Rohan* marches, and upon composition takes *Cerniers*, a Castle whose situation did indifferently secure it from any battery,

and

and *Saint Suffret* by aſſault: But as he thought to have made farther progreſſe, he was prevented by a requeſt from the principall inhabitants of *Niſmes*, to come to their Town, to ſuppreſſe a ſedition lately raiſed there; which with all diligence he did, leaving to *Berticheres* the charge of his Troops, the greateſt part which deſerted their colours, ſo that there were not left a thouſand men together. *Portes*, having gotten together near two thouſand men beſieges *Pruvillac*, a paſſy place, which had before been ſurrendred to *Berticheres*, who put in to it the Colonel *Beaumont*, who having handſomely defended it for two dayes, was at length forced, for want of powder, to give it up.

Chaſtillon at the ſame time comes before *La Tour l'Abbé*, near *Peſenax*, and belonging to *Saint Blancart*, which, either by the Connivance or Treachery of *Boiſſanguet* who commanded it, within the ſpace of twice four and twenty hours, ſurrendred; that *Rohan*, who had rallyed ſome troops for that end, had not leiſure to relieve it, nor means any longer to keep his forces together with which he had marched up and down for three moneths together without any pay, and made many ſieges, both by reaſon of the refractorineſs of his Colonels, and the approaching harveſt, a ſeaſon in which the poor of the lower *Languedoc* gaine their whole ſubſiſtence.

To return to *Niſmes*, It is to be obſerved that *Briſon* had been protected and gratified by the Duke of *Rohan* more than any other out of hopes he had to win him that way: But he, being of a nature on which no obligations could prevail, ingraceful, and preſumptuous, had, notwithſtanding I deſigned to poſſeſſe himſelf of *Niſmes*, to make his own conditions withal; pretending a moſt tranſcendent zeal to their cauſe, and loſing no opportunity to aſperſe the Duke with calumnies, openly declaring that he had betrayed *Privas* to the Duke *de Leſdiguieres*, and was the ſole cauſe of the loſſe of *Vivarets*. He conſpired alſo with the Deputies of the Aſſembly of the five Provinces, who, inſtead of returning to their own homes, went from town to town irritating the people againſt the Duke of *Rohan*; and having now made ſure of *Briſon*, and his aſſiſtance in *Niſmes* were reſolved upon the firſt opportunity to reaſſemble there, to oppoſe the authority of the Duke of *Rohan*, who being informed that they were all met at *Niſmes*, with intention to begin again their Aſſembly, ſent one of his Gentlemen to forbid them, and to command the Deputies of *Vivarets* to return to their Province, ſhowing them withal the Depoſition of *Rohan*, wherein the Deputies had moſt baſely ſcandalized him, which *Briſon* ſtoutly oppoſed; but found not the people any way inclineable to be led by his paſſion; So that, the Deputies were forced

forced to be gone, and *Brison* to wait upon the Duke to excuſe this procedure.

Whil'ſt he was upon his journey, the principal inhabitants of *Niſmes*, making good uſe of his abſence, took occaſion to procure a Declaration of the general Council of the Town, that the Government of *Brison* was no longer ſupportable, that *Rohan* ſhould be requeſted to approve of this reſult of their deliberations, and that they might be permitted to live under the ſole authority of their own Conſuls, till a more urgent neceſſity ſhould require a Governour, and that then they would accept of any one he ſhould pleaſe to place over them; and that he would with all ſpeed repair to their town to prevent any diſorders might ſurvene: Whereupon he went thither, and there approved of and ratified this act of their Council. At the ſame time was there held an Aſſembly at *Niſmes* to take order for the ſecuring of their harveſt; to whom *Brison* addreſſed his complaints; But the Aſſembly waved them, and approved of the determination of the Council, and the Dukes confirmation of it: *Brison* ſeeing he could not this way arrive at his almes, goes to *Montpellier*, and in all places endeavours to ſtir up the people againſt the Duke of *Rohan*, attempting alſo by means of his Confederates to raiſe a ſedition in *Niſmes*; which the Duke having notice of, ſends the Lieutenant of his Guards with a command to arreſt him, where ever he ſhould find him, who, after ſome time ſpent in the ſearch of him, at length arreſts him in *Uſez*.

When *Niſmes* was thus ſecured, order was taken for the levying, and paying of a ſufficient number of Souldiers to preſerve the Countreys about *Montpellier*, *Niſmes*, and *Uſez* from the ſpoyle and ravage, the Duke of *Montmorency* had orders from the King to make in thoſe parts, and alſo to ſend ſome ſupplies to *Montauban*.

After the holding of this Aſſembly, it was thought fit that another ſhould be convened in the *Sevenes* for the ſame cauſe; and foraſmuch as the Duke of *Montmorency* already began to burne, and waſte the places near *Montpellier*, *Rohan* to prevent farther miſchief, left *Lauder* his Quartermaſter-General with a Brigade of horſe: upon the firſt approaches of *Montreal* Major-General to the Duke of *Montmorency*, at a conreſt about a Farme-houſe, the Adjutant ſeeing his ſon too far engaged, goes with ſome Muſquetiers to diſengage him, whereupon *Montreal* charges him with above an hundered horſe; but *Lauder* came very opportunely to his reſcue, charged, and wounded *Montreal* with his own hand, made him flie, and purſued him fighting up to his own body, which was in ſo tottering a condition, that had *Saint Andre* the

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King's Lieutenant of *Montpeller* made uſe of that opportunity charge them, he had utterly routed the whole party.

We muſt now return to the otherſide of the *Loire*, and the Deputies the Duke of *Rohan* had ſent to the Court: Thoſe that were deſirous of Peace, endeavoured to keep the King at *Paris* to expect thoſe Deputies, of whoſe ſpeedy arrival the Duke *de Leſdiguires* had given notice; for that the Chancellour, and the President *Jeanin*, who were unfit for travel, could not otherwiſe be preſent at the Council, nor conſequently be able to withſtand the violent motions of thoſe who were inclined to a proſongation of the warre, which they perceiving, omitted no inventions to withdraw the King from *Paris*, and on *Palm-Sunday* carried him by ſtealth, out at a back gate of the *Louvre*, juſt as if they were running away with him, to keep his *Eaſter* at *Orleans*; whence, without ſtaying for the Queen-Mother, he goes down the River as far as *Nantes*; the fortunate ſucceſſe of the Duke of *Soubize* obliged him to take this courſe; who with two thouſand men, in the middeſt of all the Duke *d' Eſpernon's* forces, in *Xaintonge*, and *Angoumois*, of the Count *de Rochefoucaults* in *Pictou*, and *Saint Luke* in the Iſlands had ſeized and fortified the Iſle of *Oleron*, taken *Royan*, the Tower of *Mouraac*, *Saugeon*, and ſeveral other places, totally defeated *Saint Luke's* Regiment, and at noone-day forced *La Chaume*, and took *Les Sables*: In ſhort, he ſtruck ſo great a terror into the Countrey, that had not the King's arrival prevented him, he had abſolutely made himſelf Maſter of the field: But before the arrival of the Duke of *Rohan's* Deputies, the condition of affairs in *Pictou* being much altered by the defeat of *Riez*, the retaking of *Royan*, and the Treaty commenced by *La Force*, they were remitted to the Queen-Mother, who ſtayed at *Nantes*, and from thence to the Chancellour at *Paris*, ſo that they returned without having effected any thing: The King keeping on his way in *Guienne*, concludes the Treaty with *La Force*, who for a Marſhal of *France* his ſtaff, and two hundred thouſand crowns gave up *Saint Foy*, which he had injuriouſly gotten, and detained from *Terbon Pardaillan's* ſon in law: And he, and his ſons gave up all the Offices, and Governments they enjoyed, without the privity of the Aſſembly general or the Duke of *Rohan*.

While this Treaty was in agitation, *Tonneins*, after a handſome defence, was ſurrendred to the Duke *d' Elbeuf*; and *Lauzignan* made a particular compoſition for *Clerac*, which he yielded alſo, ſo that the King came to *Saint Antonin* without any other oppoſition: The Inhabitants of *Montauban*, mindful of the good Offices they had received from thoſe of *Saint Antonin*, though they feared they ſhould diſfurniſh themſelves of Souldi-

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ers; ſent thither *Saint Sebaſtien* a Captain in *Beaufort*'s Regiment, with what Souldiers they could ſpare to command the place: But his being mortally wounded, in an aſſault made upon ſome out-works, which were carried by main force, together with the ſpringing of ſome Mines, ſo terrified the Inhabitants, that in great confuſion, and ſo ſuddenly yielded they the Town, that two hundred men, which they deſired from *Montauban*, conducted by *Salce*, and *Rouſſeliere* found the place taken, where they were quietly let in by the enemy who ſtabbed many of them, before the reſt could perceive that the place was loſt. But at length diſcovering their error, they ſaved themſelves the beſt they could; *Salce* and *Rouſſeliere* were taken, and not releaſed but by the Articles of Peace.

Thoſe of *Montauban* fearing that from *Saint Antonin* the next viſit would be to them, ſollicited the Duke of *Rohan* for a Governour, and ſome ſupplies of men, who ſent them *Saint Andrè de Montbrun*, who with great courage, and equal fortune made way for himſelf and five Hundred Men into the Town.

The King's approach to the higher *Languedoc* greatly diſheartned the whole party, and gave thoſe that were falſe among them an occaſion to renew their intelligences; Every Town in particular, ſent the ſame harſh meſſage to the Duke, that unleſs he preſently repair thither, the whole Countrey will be given up. This caſt him into many anxious perplexities; for if he goes not whither he is called, the Countrey is loſt; and if he does go, he leaves the lower *Languedoc* to a manifeſt hazard, where his abſence would give *Chaſtillon* an opportunity to revive his factions and conſpiracies: And on the other ſide the Duke *de Leſdiguieres* preſſes him with reiterated ſummons to a ſecond interview: At length he reſolves to relieve thoſe that were moſt neceſſitated, excuſes himſelf to *Leſdiguieres*, ſends a reinforc of Souldiers to *Montpellier*, to preſerve their fields from ravage, by reaſon that the Duke of *Montmorency* had received a recruit of five Troops of light Horſe, which *Zamet* brought him from the King's Army, and gives order for the levying of a thouſand men for the higher *Languedoc*; whither as he was going with his own attendants only, *Chauve*, Miniſter of the Church of *Sommiers*, a man of exemplary piety, and ſingular eloquence, comes to him at *Saint John de Gardonnenque*, and tells him that he knew, and that by very good information, that *Chaſtillon*, much diſpleaſed with himſelf for his former actions, was ſore troubled to ſee the imminent ruine of thoſe of the Religion, whom, but for the affronts he had received, he had never deſerted; and was confi-

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dent, that if he were handſomely dealt with, he would return again to the party, to the great advantage of it, both by reaſon of the conſideration of his perſon, eſpecially in *Languedoc*, and of the conſequence of the Town of *Aiguemortes*, which was in his hands. This was a device of *Chaſtillon*'s confederates, who knowing the reputation of this Miniſter, had abuſed him with theſe hopes, that the Dukes refuſal to admit of him, might furniſh them with more ſpecious pretences on which to ground their detractions and new calumnies againſt him; which the Duke very well foreſeeing, anſwers, That he was ſo farre from diverting his good intentions, or hindring a work of ſo general concernment, as the regaining ſuch a perſon to their party, that on the contrary, in any thing tending to their advantage, he would meet him more than half way: As for the command conferred on him, by reaſon of the other's abſenting himſelf from the Province, as he had never ſued for it, ſo neither was he ſo fond of it, as not to yield it up, whenever the Province that gave it him ſhould think fit to revoke it; and that he wiſhed with all his heart, that he would ſeriouſly and in good earneſt comply with his duty to his own, and the publick Intereſts; that for his part, he was contented with the command aſſigned him by the general Aſſembly at *Rochell*, in the upper *Guienne*, and the upper *Languedoc*, whither he was now going to provide againſt the dangers the King's approach gave them cauſe to fear; leaving the way open for *Chaſtillon* to return to thoſe he had before forſaken: However the duty he owed both to his imployment, and conſcience, obliged him to ſay, that there were yet many things in this caſe to be conſidered, and that the Province ought maturely to weigh, and every one in particular ſtrictly to examine the importance and conſequences of this affair, and principally *Chauve* himſelf, both by reaſon of his profeſſion, and the charge he had now undertaken: But that the infallible tryal of his ſincerity would be, whether he would effectively deliver up into the hands of the Province, the Town of *Aiguemortes*; for that if his pretences to ſerve the party were real and ſincere, he would make no difficulty of it, but if feigned and fallacious, he would never diſ-poſſeſſe himſelf of it: *Chauve* very well approved the motion, believing he would accept of it; and ſo returned.

The Duke foreſeeing that in his abſence this buſineſs would be moved again, gave an eſpecial charge to *Dupuy* (whom he left his Agent in that Province) to take great heed, that nothing paſſed there, to the prejudice of the publick or his Intereſt; to which end he gave him ſufficient power, and inſtructions, tending,

ding chiefly to this, that if this proposition were ſtarted in any Aſſembly whatſoever, and that they ſhould proceed to Treat on it without the precedent condition, to wit, that the Gariſon of *Aiguemortes* ſhould be firſt reſtored to the diſpoſal of the Province, he ſhould oppoſe it; and if they Treated on thoſe termes, he ſhould ſee that there were no foul play uſed, and that nothing were concluded without a previous performance of that condition.

This done, he proceeds in his journey to the higher *Languedoc*, and arrives there juſt upon the taking of *Saint Antonin*, and ſo opportunely, that he prevented the Rendition of *Lombez* and *Realmont*, and revives the drooping and almoſt decayed ſpirits of the whole Countrey, in which he loſt nothing but *Caumaing*, *Saint Eſpuel*, and *Cueq*; the firſt by treachery, the other two by reaſon of their weakneſs were quitted by the inhabitants, and afterwards fired, as the Army marched by.

The King ſeeing, that the Countrey reſumed their courages, advances further, carried on with the hopes the Duke of *Montmorency* and *Chaſtillon* gave him, and chiefly of *Montpellier*, ſending all his Ammunition down the *Rhone* to the lower *Languedoc*; *Biaccans* revolt, who ſold *Baye* to the King for twenty thouſand Crowns, having opened the paſſage of that River: The Duke of *Rohan* on the other ſide gets before them, and enters *Montpellier* at the ſame time the King got into *Beziers*; leaving a thouſand Foot with *Malauze* to aſſiſt him againſt the Duke of *Vendoſme*, whom the King had left with an Army in the higher *Languedoc*, as he had alſo the Marſhal *Themines* with other Troops about *Montauban*.

About the ſame time came a Gentleman to the Duke of *Rohan*, from the Duke of *Bouillon*, with credential Letters, importing alſo his reſentments of the miſeries of thoſe of the Religion; that he thought a Peace would have been concluded at *Saint Jobn*; and afterwards at *Montauban*, that, ſince that he underſtood that he and the Duke *de Leſdiguieres* were in Treaty about it, that he adviſed him to conclude it upon any terms, provided it were general; for that being not able to diſpute the field with the King, for want of forraign aſſiſtance, their deſtruction, though it might be retarded, would yet be inevitable, and that the longer the peace was deferred, the more diſadvantageous would it be: Nevertheleſs if it was our ruine, that they had inalterably decreed, that he would take the field with what forces he could make, to aſſiſt the party by a conſiderable diverſion of the enemy; that he was in Treaty with Count *Mansfeld*, and that he deſired three things of the Duke: Firſt, that he would

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impower him to Treat with Forraigners: Secondly, that he, and the Provinces under his command, ſhould oblige themſelves to bear an equal ſhare of the charge of the Levyes: Thirdly, that no Peace ſhould be concluded without him; all which Propoſitions were aſſented to, and the Gentleman returned well ſatisfied, having alſo received a faithful aſſurance, that if the peace were not made by the firſt of *September*, it ſhould not be concluded without him, provided that within the time limited he were certified of his acceptance of the conditions.

In the abſence of the Duke of *Rohan* from the lower *Languedoc*, the Council of that Province, compoſed at that time of the Deputies of the three Towns of *Montpellier*, *Niſmes* and *Uſez*, imagining that ſince *Saint Antonin* was taken, they might be the next the King would invade, and that though the fortifications of *Montpellier* were already well advanced, yet was it unprovided of men and proviſions, conceived it neceſſary to aſſemble the whole body of the Province, to order all; and *Lunel* was the place deſigned for the Aſſembly to be kept at; where when all the Deputies with *Dupuy* were met, and had debated, and reſolved on what concerned the victualling and ſecuring of *Montpellier*, and other places in caſe they ſhould be beſieged; the adherents of *Chaſtillon*, of which there were many preſent, having made their party, thinking to make their advantage of this opportunity, produced againe the Articles for his re-eſtabliſhment: The Deputies of the three Towns, voluntarily, and of themſelves oppoſed this overture, for fear of falling into the hands, and under the command of one, they had ſo highly offended, by deveſting him of his charge; Proteſting to the Aſſembly, that if they aſſumed any other debate than what concerned the executing of the Decrees already paſt, for the relief of *Montpellier*, and other places, they would utterly deſert them, and diſavow all their future determinations; *Dupuy* in obedience to the command he had received, ſeconded this oppoſition, which *Bertichieres* (Moderator of the Aſſembly, as being the Duke's Lieutenant General) alſo much countenanced, alledging, that they had no power to Aſſemble, in the abſence, and without the permiſſion of their General; and that though they were now convened, yet was it with his good leave and approbation, and upon the preſent exigency of affairs, of which they had given him an account, and that this neceſſity being now taken off, they ought to forbear the debate of other particular matters, till his return.

Nevertheleſs the confederates aforeſaid reſolutely perſiſted in their deſign, renforcing every day their ſollicitations, with hopes to procure at length a reſumption of the ſuſpended debate, and

and to carry it by plurality of voices, or at least by this means to take off *Lunel*, *Aimargues*, and *Mauguio*, which adhering to *Chastillon*, would raise his esteem at Court; of which when the Deputies of the three Towns, and *Dupuy* had notice, they resolved, that at the first mention of it, they would object the interest of the Province of the *Sevenes*, which being a part of the Generality of the lower *Languedoc*, it must needs be prejudicial to the common repose of both the Provinces, to determine that affair, without the others intervention or privity; wherefore they sent a true account of all that had passed to the Council of that Province then sitting at *Anduze*, together with their advice concerning what they conceived ought to be done by them in the behalf of their Province: The same Deputies also, with *Dupuy*, went to *Berticheres* to make sure of him, who faithfully promised to continue immoveable in his opposition. In the succeeding Sessions there were still some words thrown out by *Chastillon*'s friends, concerning that subject, but they passed unregarded. In the mean while came the Deputies from the Assembly of the Province of the *Sevenes*, who made a large Remonstrance of the injuries their Province would receive from the change they would introduce in their proceedings, that it was an unheard of procedure; and that their Province could never suffer, that that of *Languedoc*, should by it self presume to abrogate the Decrees of the Assembly of the Circle, or five Provinces, in which the Deputies of the Assembly of the *Sevenes* had a joynt concurrence of Votes with those of the lower *Languedoc*; and moreover represented to the Assembly their own Interests, and the inconveniences would ensue their submitting themselves to the power and conduct of a man, whom they had so highly provoked, by the suspicions they had of him; and in the last place protested, That in case the Assembly should proceed further, in the absence of the Duke of *Rohan*, or without his consent and approbation, they would absolutely disclaim them.

This opposition of the Deputies of the Council of the *Sevenes*, seconded by those of the three Towns, grounded upon their own, and the large Commission, and power of *Dupuy* something cooled the heat of those sollicitours, which yet in a short time after they resumed again; and importuned *Chauve* anew, to prosecute what he had begun; which he would by no means undertake, without imparting it to *Dupuy*; who after he had remembred him, upon what terms he had parted with the Duke of *Rohan* at *Saint Johan de Gardonnenque*, tells him that he would consider of it, and then give him his answer; and in the mean time had a conference about it with the Deputies of the three Towns, who thought it

is not unfit that *Chauve*, as of himself, and without any particular Commission, should sound *Chastillon*'s inclinations, to discover whether he would yield to that condition of delivering up *Aigues-mortes* into the hands of the Province, which was then very opportunely met, to receive both it, and him, with all assurances could desire of an Amnesty, and the continuance of their respects to him: It being most apparant, that *Chastillon*, who they knew desired nothing more than to intrude himself among us, only to render himself more considerable, and his Interests more favoured at Court, would never disfurnish himself of the only means left him, to procure a performance of the promises made him, and that thus they should also make him desist from his pursuit. When they had given *Chauve* their answer in these termes, he approved of it; and promised to comport himself according to their directions; and thereupon had a conference with *Banfillon* the Minister of *Aiguemortes*, who highly magnified the advantages this re-establishment of *Chastillon* would produce to their party in general: To whom *Chauve* replyed, That it would be impossible to efface the impressions *Chastillon*'s procedures had left in the whole Province, unless he supplied them with the means he had in his hands, by yielding up the Town of *Aiguemortes* to their disposal; which if he would do, they would evidence the contentment they had, to see a person of his quality return into the way from which he had digressed, by their promptness to serve and honour him, as they had formerly done: This discourse pleased not *Banfillon* at all, who told him, that he conceived that *Chastillon* neither would, nor ought to consent to this Proposition; that he had good reason to take heed of falling into those snares he knew were spread for him; for that having devested him of all power, they might the more easily dispose of him at their pleasure, or at least pay all his former service with the cold recompence of Oblivion, or neglect; and that therefore he conceived the Treaty absolutely broken: Upon which, as *Chauve* was about to leave him, he told him, that he would give *Chastillon* an account of all, and him an answer the next day at the same place; which he did, and in effect conformable to his own preconceptions; which absolutely cleared the judgement of *Chauve*, and many others also, when he had given the Assembly a Summary of this conference.

In the mean while the Deputies of the three Towns incessantly sollicited *Dupuy*, to press the Duke of *Rohan*'s return, representing to him the condition of the Province, and the danger it was in of being ruined by the divisions sprung from this late Proposition, and the delay his absence occasioned in the progress of their

their affaires: Whereupon *Dupuy* resolved, to make a journey himself to the Duke of *Rohan*: But yet he would not leave the Assembly, before he had gotten a promise from *Bertichieres*, that there should be no more mention made of the aforesaid re-establishment for eight dayes, by which time he should return again from *Nismes* whither he pretended he was going; but in the mean time, he goes by great journeys towards the Duke, whom he found at *Pont de Camares*, who having received from him an account of all passages, quitted all other things to return with all possible speed to the lower *Languedoc*: When he was come to *Mirveis*, he sent a Gentleman, with command to travel night and day to the Assembly, to let them know that he was within two days journey of them, and desired them to suspend all further debates concerning their affairs, till his arrival.

This unexpected news surprized the Assembly so, that instead of continuing their consultations, they went to meet him as farre as *Sommieres*, where when he had learned of them, what order they had taken for the raising of Souldiers, and supplying the Garisons with necessaries, he ratified what they had done, and so dismissed them.

Thus ended this tentative of *Chastillon's* friends to restore him to a repute with the Party: After which *Rohan* went to *Montpellier*, where he turned fifteen or sixteen of his chiefest Confidents out of the Town, and ordered all things necessary (as before he had done at *Montauban*) for a Siege, both for ammunition, victuals, and the fortifications.

It is to be observed, that in the Duke's absence, *Amerie* the first Consul of *Montpellier*, and *Carlincas* his Kinsman, took occasion upon a defeat of two or three companies, near to *Perolles*, which *Saint André* had sent thither, while the enemy was plundering the Countrey thereabouts, to accuse him to the people, who had already a jealousie of him; and *Bertichieres*, thoug his father-in-law, instead of assisting him, helped to thrust him out of the Town; not out of any affection to the cause, but of a pestilent ambition raigned among them; every one labouring to raise his own advantages upon the ruines of others, and better their conditions by delivering *Montpellier* to the King: But the seventeen dayes stay the Duke made there, and the discovery he made, by a Messenger of the President *Faure*, taken neare *Nismes*, that *Bertichieres* Treated with the King, together with some Colonels, who were ordered for the defence of *Montpellier*; and the execution of *Bimart*, who was one of them, reduced things to a better posture; But yet these disorders retarded the Levyes, so that of foure thousand Souldiers design-

ed for the defence of the Town, they got in: but fifteen hundred.

It is moreover to be noted, that the Duke of *Rohan* seeing the great want of Ammunition in the Province of lower *Languedoc*, and of time, and means to fortifie all their Garisons, proposed the dismantling of them, and the reducing of their forces to *Montpellier*, *Nismes*, *Usez*, and *Sommieres*; which the people then rejected, but have since, though too late, repented it; for their obstinacy drew upon them the loss both of their Estates and Liberties; for whiles they vainly trifled away their time and labour, in fortifying so many places, neither of them was fortified or defended as it ought, but both they, and the reliefs sent to them, which in the other places would have been of great use, were now made wholly unserviceable.

The King seeing that the care and diligence of the Duke of *Rohan* had defeated all the designes of those that would have delivered up *Montpellier* to him, staid some time at *Beziers* to expect his Ammunitions, and to recruit his Army: And in the mean time sent the Marshal *de Praslin* to besiege *Bedarieux*, which he took, and dismantled; and then sent the Duke of *Montmorency* to take in *Mauguio*, which the inhabitants knew not how to defend, nor yet would they quit it, nor spoyle the wines, as the Duke of *Rohan* had commanded them.

The Prince of *Condé* about this time came to the King's Army, and thence went to besiege *Lunel* and *Massillargues*, within half a League one of another, and sufficiently stored with all necessaries, there being in *Lunel* two Colonels besides the Governour, who all joyntly wrote to the Duke of *Rohan*, that if he would send them in but five hundred Souldiers, they would give a handsome account of the place: The Duke, when he had settled *Calonges* in *Montpellier*, and left *Dupuy* his Agent there, in his name to provide all things requisite for the defence of the Town, went purposely to prepare the desired supply, and sent them in eight hundred men; but much to their regret; for the next day, though they had not suffered any the least extremity, and that the breach made was not considerable, they yielded themselves with all their Arms, and Baggage. Those of *Massillargues* had done the like but a few dayes before: But the Articles of *Lunel* were violated even before the Prince of *Condé*'s face; for when the Garison marched out, they were beaten, disarmed, stript, and a great part of them killed or maimed; and in this lamentable posture went they to *Nismes* and *Sommieres*, on which they brought so great a terror, that upon the appearance of the enemy before *Sommieres*, in which there were fifteen hundred

dred men, they did even as bad as thoſe of *Lunel*; and, which is a moſt ſhameful thing to be related, the Captains took two thouſand Crowns, to leave their arms to the enemy.

The Town of *Niſmes* alarmed by theſe ſad accidents, ſent Meſſengers to requeſt a viſit from the Duke of *Rohan*, which he willingly condeſcended to, but firſt got together as many Souldiers as he could at *Anduze*, which he left under the Command of *Charce* his Lieutenant General in the *Sevenes*, and of the Adjutant General, who when they ſaw the Duke of *Montmorency* return to the *Sevenes*, drew into a body about a quarter of a League from *Anduze*, at a Paſs not eaſily acceſſible, which they fortified; and had not their care and diligence in furniſhing *Sauve* and *Alets* with two valiant and expert Commanders, and a thouſand, or twelve hundred Souldiers, drawn out of *Saint Hyppolite*, and the places adjacent prevented it, thoſe two Towns had been alſo loſt: So that the good poſture they were in, together with the Duke of *Rohan*'s obſtructing of *Montmorency*'s proviſions, which came a great way off, forced him, after a ſucceſſeleſs voyage, to return again.

In the mean time the Marſhal *Themines* plundred all the Countrey about *Montauban*, burnt all their Countrey houſes, and obſtructed their Vintage: But all this hindred not *Saint Andre de Montbrun*, their Governour, from drawing out his Canon, and battering, and taking many Caſtles, among others, *Renié*, and *la Baſtide*, and ſtoring his Town with Corne and Wine for a whole yeare: He had alſo ſeveral Skirmiſhes with the Gariſon of *Montech*, and others alſo, and ſtill came off with honour and advantage.

The Duke of *Vendoſme* alſo with ſeven thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, ſate down before *Lombez*; *Malauze* comes to *Realmont* with intention to relieve it; but conceiving it not tenable againſt ſuch a force, by reaſon of the weakneſs of the Town, and that the Caſtle which commanded it, was Gariſon'd by the enemy; contented himſelf after a long Skirmiſh, withdrawing off the Souldiers, as well inhabitants, as ſtrangers; and abandons the town, which was burnt. From *Lombez* the Duke marches to beſiege *Briteſte*, a little place, weak of it ſelf, and commanded almoſt on every ſide: Thither *Malauze* ſent five hundred men under the Command of *Faucon*, one of *Seſigny*'s Captains, who behaved himſelf very gallantly: He endured the Siege a month or more, beat them off in four or five aſſaults, was twice relieved with freſh ſupplies of men and powder, by *Malauze*, whoſe main body lay at *Saint Paul* and *Miaite*, about a League and half from *Briteſte*, and never had more than

two thousand Foot, and two hundred Volunteers on Horse-ba
with whom, and by the means of the braxe resistance of the
sieged, he did so well, that the Duke of *Vendosme*, being co
manded by the King to come, and joyn his Forces with the Ar
that lay before *Montpellier*, raised the siege after he had spe
two thousand Canon bullets on them, and lost fifteen hu
dred of his men; and those within the town three hu
dred.

The departure of this Army, freed the whole Country fr
much harm, and greater fears; and invites us to return to t
lower *Languedoc*, where the Duke *de Lesdiguieres*, havi
exchanged his Religion for the honour to be made Constable
France, conceiving himself more capable now, than heretofore
to procure a Peace, sollicites the Duke of *Rohan* to another in
terview, who seeing the hopes he had grounded on the Cou
Mansfield, who was gone into *Holland*, had failed him, th
more willingly complies with his desires. They met at *Saint Pri
vas*, where they agreed on all things, except the King's entry
into *Montpellier*; whereupon he obliged the Duke to a journey to
the Town, to propose it to them, with all possible assurances,
they should desire, to testifie, that they intended not the least in-
fringement of their liberties: But this to be done without any
cessation of Arms, nor was the Duke allowed more than two days
stay there, to perfect this negotiation; who, considering the
danger *Montpellier* was in, unless supplied with a new renfort of
Souldiers; for that the works being not finished, their defects
were to be made up with an addition of more men, sends express
Orders to his Adjutant General *Sorle*, to draw twelve hundred
men, out of the two thousand he had with much adoe detained at
Anduze, and by the Valley of *Montferrant* conduct them to *Mont-
pellier*, the night ensuing the evening that he should get in there:
But when the Captains and Souldiers knew that they were to be
locked up in *Montpellier*, they all deserted the Adjutant, who came
thither accompanied only with fifteen.

Those of *Montpellier* would by no means admit of the Propo-
sition concerning the King's entry into their Town, fearing a sup-
pression of their liberties, by reason of the Prince of *Condé's* ani-
mosities against them; which the Duke perceiving, encourages
them to stand bravely upon their defence, assuring them that he
would provide for their relief, in which, for his part, he omitted
nothing that might forward it: But as there is a vast difference
between the promises, and payment of money, so instead of ten
days, within which time he thought to have sent them aid, not
withstanding his journeys to *Nismes*, *Uzes*, and the *Sevenes*, not

with-

without manifeſt hazard of his perſon, could he not, under five weeks, get four thouſand men together; nor thoſe neither without engaging himſelf by promiſes to moſt of the Captains; that they were not to be ſent to *Montpellier*, but only that the confideration of their numbers might procure them a more advantageous Peace: So great was their conſternation; and thoſe that were deſirous to get thither, were yet deterred by the apprehenſion of the difficulties, which really were very great; the King having then an Army conſiſting of twenty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe; for the Conſtable, and the Duke of *Vendoſme* had now joyned their's with the other Forces; beſides, ſo great a way were they to go, and ſuch difficult paſſes had they to get through, that it was impoſſible to approach within three Leagues of the Town, without encountring the King's whole Cavalry; and moreover ſo great a ſcarcity was there of Proviſions, that they could not keep the Troops together, more than eight or ten dayes: Thoſe of *Montpellier* of the other ſide, could no longer ſubſiſt for wans of men, by reaſon of the exceſſive duty they were on, and therefore every moment ſent they moſt important Letters for relief: To which may be added alſo a new Summons ſent him by the Conſtable, who had before left the Court in ſome diſcontent for that he could not prevaile to obtain a Peace; yet now at his return was he in higher eſteem, both by reaſon of the Forces he had brought with him, and that the Prince, in his abſence, had nothing advanced the Siege; All which the Duke conſidering, and that he was utterly deſtitute of hopes of any Forraign aſſiſtance, having newly received a Letter from the King of *England* preſſing him to conclude a Peace, and ſeeing no probability of any good to be done at home; every one being weary of the War, and labouring to purchaſe his own particular ſafety, with the expence of the publick Intereſt; that the firſt Town ſhould fall off, and embrace a particular Treaty, would totally fruſtrate all endeavours for a general Peace; that the leaſt croſs accident ſhould happen to *Montpellier*, or the relief intended for it, would be irreparable; that the King could not want men, the Duke of *Angouleſme* being then at *Lions* with a recruit of eight, or ten thouſand; and that, without a miracle, *Montpellier* could not be preſerved: Moreover, ſeeing that there were about the King two powerful parties; the one preſſing the concluſion of a Peace, the other, the continuation of the War; and that the former could not ſubſiſt without a Peace, no more than the other without a War; and that the Chief of the latter, to wit, the Prince of *Conde* had deſerted the Court upon the Compoſure of former differences, he

he conceived that thoſe that promoted the Peace being alwayes neare the King, would take care to ſee it faithfully obſerved: This made him reſolve upon another conference with the Conſtable, at which the Duke of *Chevreuſe* was preſent; where all was concluded according to the Declarations and Breviates drawn up to that purpoſe: Which when the King acquainted the Prince of *Condé* with, he left the Court; and the Duke of *Rohan*, with the Deputies of the *Sevenes*, *Niſmes*, and *Uſez*, went to *Monpellier*, where they all confirmed the Peace; the ſubſtance of the principal Articles of which was, as followeth;

1. A Confirmation of the Edict of *Nantes*, and of all Declarations and Articles Regiſtred in the Parliaments.
2. A reſtoring of both the Religions to the places, where they were formerly exerciſed.
3. A re-eſtabliſhment of the ſeats of Juſtice, Offices of the receipts, and Officers of the *Finances* to thoſe places and towns where they were before the troubles, except the Chamber of the Edict of *Guienne*, to *Nerac*.
4. Prohibitions to hold all Aſſemblies concerning civil affairs without leave, but an allowance of thoſe relating to Eccleſiaſtical affairs only, as *Conſiſtories*, *Colloques*, National, and Provincial *Synods*.
5. A Diſcharge of all Acts of Hoſtility according to the tenor of the ſeventy ſixth, and ſeventy ſeventh Articles of the Edicts of *Nantes*.
6. A particular Abolition for what happened at *Privas* before the troubles.
7. A cleare Diſcharge of all Perſons liable to any accounts, and Officers, according to the ſeventy eighth, and ſeventy ninth Articles of the ſaid Edicts of *Nantes*; as alſo of all Judgements, given againſt thoſe of the Religion, ſince the Commencement of the preſent commotions, according to the fifty eighth, fifty ninth, and ſixtieth Article of the ſecond Edict.
8. A Confirmation of all Judgements, given by Judges of the Religion, Conſtituted by the Superiours of the Party; both in Civil, and criminal matters.
9. A free Diſcharge of all perſons of both Parties, without ranſome.
10. A reſtoring of all perſons to their Eſtates, Liberties, and Privileges, Offices, Honours, and Dignities, notwithſtanding any former Gifts or Confiſcations.

11. And

11. And more particularly the King doth Declare, Ordaine, and Decree, That for the future there ſhall be no Gariſon Kept, nor Cittadel built in the Town of *Montpellier*; but that his Majeſtie's pleaſure is, that the charge of the Town ſhall be in the hands of the Conſuls, and that there be no innovations there, except the demoliſhing of the late fortifications.

12. That all the fortifications of *Rochelle*, and *Montauban*, remain intire; and the moiety of thoſe of the Towns of *Niſmes*, *Caſtres*, *Uſez*, and *Millaud*.

The end of the Second Book.

THE

THE Memoires OF THE DUKE of *ROHAN*:

The third Book.

Containing a Relation of the ſecond Warre againſt thoſe of the Reformed Religion in France.

THE Peace thus concluded, the Prince gone from the Court, and his Faction, by his abſence, and the death of the Cardinal *de Retz* quite decayed, every one began to have fair hopes of its continuance, and that grown wiſe by our former miſcarriages, we ſhould now renounce all future thoughts of Civil broyles, and mind the Protection of the ancient Allyes of the Crown: But the beams of favour now reflecting ſolely on *Puizieux*, a man of a hot ſpirit, and whoſe whole ingenuity conſiſted in tricks and fallacies, he became more ſtudious of his own, than his Maſters greatneſſe (a vice incident to all favourites) being carefull to raiſe himſelf ſome props at *Rome*, and very unwilling to give *Spaine* the leaſt diſguſt;

So

So that all Leagues with other forraigne Princes, were made with such respect to those two powers, as if we stood in fear of their displeasure: Nay, and to sooth the Popes *Nuncio*, who had alwayes opposed the Peace, at the very beginning of it, would undertake to shew him, that it was not made to abate the prosecution, but to promote the ruine of those of the Reformed Religion. For immediately after the King's entry into *Montpellier*, the sense of the general Grant was inverted in most places of it, notwithstanding the several Remonstrances the Duke of *Rohan* made to oppose it: Nor were the Souldiers drawn away from *Montpellier*, though promised to be done immediately after the King's departure; then was it put off, till his return from *Provence*, then, till he came to *Avignon*, and lastly till he should be at *Lions*; whence the Duke of *Rohan* having followed him to all those places, urging their departure very earnestly, and perhaps too boldly, telling the King they should desist from farther razing the fortifications, if he revoked that command, returned with a Letter to *Valence*, commanding him expresly to do it. Nor did they forbear in their march through *Dauphine* to seize upon all the places that were in the hands of those of the Religion, though they had served the Kings party, the only recompence they had for fighting against their consciences, nor were any but those only, that were possessed by the Constable, exempt from this violence, which yet he preserved with much difficulty, for had not the Marshal *Crequi* engaged to deliver them up after his death, they had then gone the same way with the rest. At *Lions* the Deputies of *Rochelle* came to wait upon the King, whence they carried back Letters to *Arnaud* Governour of *Fort Lewis*, commanding him, that within eight dayes after the *Rochellers* had performed what the Articles had enjoyned them, as concerning the demolition of their fortifications, he should cause the said Fort to be slighted also: but *Arnaud* received another of the same date, but a cleare contrary sence.

When the King went from *Lions*, towards *Paris*, the Duke of *Rohan* returned to *Languedoc*, really and sincerely to execute, what ever had been promised in the name of those of the Religion, touching that part of their fortifications they ought to slight. Going to *Montpellier*, he found the Consulate of the Merchants changed, of which he complains to the Court, but in vaine: He delivers the Kings Letter to *Valence*, who promised to obey it; from thence he goes to *Nismes* and *Usez*, whom he presently sets on work; thence to the higher *Languedoc*, *Montauban*, *Foix*, and *Rouergue*, where at a conference with the Duke of *Ventadour*, the Count of *Carmaine*, the President *de Caminade*, and the Count

d' *Aquien*

d' *Aquien*, Commiſſioners, as he was for the demoliſhing the fortifications, all things were agreed on between them and he for his part inſtantly ſet about them, deliver ing up alſo all Forts, and Towns that had been taken in the Warre, reſtoring alſo the exerciſe of the *Romiſh* Religion to thoſe places, where it had been formerly uſed.

Notwithſtanding all which *Valencé*, who, beſides the four thouſand men were in *Montpellier*, had four or five Regiments more, and three or four troops of light horſe, had deſigned to ſurprize, with theſe the *Sevenes* under pretence of taking up quarters there, and by means of ſome correſpondencies he had gotten among them; of which when the Duke had notice, from the principal Communalties of the *Sevenes*, who ſent him their complaints of this infringement of the Peace, he wrote to them back again for anſwer, that he knew it was not the Kings pleaſure, and therefore that they ſhould not receive them; and to *Valencé* that he ſhould forbear thoſe quarters till his arrival, leaſt otherwiſe it ſhould prejudice the eſtabliſhment of the Peace: The Duke of *Ventadour*, the Count *de Carmaine*, and the Preſident *de Caminade* wrote to him to the ſame effect; which he regarded not, but proceeded in his enterpriſe, the Towns of *Sauvé*, and *Gange* receiving his Troops, but all the other places, upon the Duke of *Rohan*'s Letter refuſed them: The Duke when he had put things in ſuch a forwardneſſe in the higher *Languedoc*, returns to *Montpellier* according to the agreement between him, and *Valencé*: But he was no ſooner entred the Town, than made a Priſoner, and kept with a ſevere guard upon him: This cauſed a great aſtoniſhment in many, who could not imagine that this ſhould be done without order; but being known at Court, it was not approved of there, for fear leſt it ſhould prove too great an obſtruction to the raiſing of the fortifications; ſo that his liberty was preſently ordered.

Whiles the Duke was under this reſtraint, *Valencé*, contrary to the Articles of the Peace, divides the Conſulate of *Montpellier* between thoſe of the Religion and the Papiſts, and to effect it, uſed all manner of violence to the old Conſuls, detaining them as priſoners one whole night in his own lodgings.

The Court gave the Duke of *Rohan* no better ſatisfaction concerning this, than the former breach of the Peace; receiving, inſtead of relief, advice, that to avoid the ſuſpitions the lower *Languedoc* had of him, he ſhould remove to the higher, to execute the remaining part of his Commiſſion: For *Puyſieux* brother-in-law to *Valencé*, having caſhiered *Schomberg*, and reſtored the Chancellour his Father, was now the only powerful man, and by

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drawing falſe gloſſes upon all the actions of *Valencé* improved them all to his advantage, and upon all occaſions thwarted the affairs of the Duke of *Rohan*, clouding all his attempts with injurious and ſiniſter interpretations and jealouſies: And yet upon the anſwer the Duke ſent that he would not leave *Niſmes*, nor the *Sevenes* till they were rid of thoſe Troops that lay upon them, he quickly received an order to diſmiſſe them: After which he departed towards the lower *Languedoc*, leaving thoſe of *Niſmes* very much unſatisfied of him, out of a perſwaſion that he was of intelligence with the Court, and privie to all the violations of the Peace, and that his impriſonment was not real, but a deluſory trick to palliate his other practices; The uſual recompence perſons of quality and honour derive from ſervices done to the people.

When he came to *Millaud* he was informed, that the Duke *d'Eſpernon* had written to all the Towns held by thoſe of the Religion in *Roüergue*, to ſend him Deputies both of the one, and the other Religion, and that they ſhould not proceed to the Election of their Conſuls, (who are uſually choſen at *Whitſuntide*) before they had from him known the King's pleaſure therein; this cauſed a great confuſion among them; but by the advice of the Duke of *Rohan* they proceed, notwithſtanding, to their Elections, at the accuſtomed time, according to the Declaration of Peace, which imports, that in the Conſulary Towns, held by thoſe of the Religion, nothing ſhall be innovated; and then ſent their Deputies to the Duke *d'Eſpernon* to know what his pleaſure was: Avoiding by this means, the injury intended to the Peace, and them in this particular.

This done, he goes to *Caſtres*, where he fixes his reſidence, and thence ſends the King a perfect account of the entire execution of his Commiſſion; humbly beſeeching him, that, according to his Royal promiſe, the diſgarriſoning of *Montpellier*, the demolition of the Fort *Lewis*, and the re-eſtabliſhing of the Chamber (or Court erected in favour of thoſe of the Reformed Religion) at *Caſtres*, might be no longer deferred: But inſtead of receiving Juſtice thereupon, contrary to the Act of Pacification, verified in ſeveral Parliaments, without any reſtrictions, or limitations, the engagements given underhand and Seale, re-iterated by ſeveral Letters, the Anſwer given to the Propoſitions of the Deputies general, and his Majeſties anſwers to the Committee of the Parliament of *Thoulouze*, concerning the Chamber of *Caſtres*, the Garriſon in *Montpellier* was continued, and a Cittadel alſo was erected there, the Port *Lewis* was re fortified, and the Chamber was removed to *Nezers*: But this was not all; The Temples, or Churches of thoſe of

of the Religion were ſtill detained from them; The Parliament of *Thoulouze* made an Ordinance for dividing the *Conſulate* of *Pamiers*, between thoſe of the *Reformed*, and thoſe of the *Romiſh* Religion; vexes and torments particular perſons, by impriſoning their perſons, and ſequeſtring their eſtates for things they had, according to the tenor of the Declaration, been indempnified for: In ſhort, the preſſures of thoſe of the Religion, ſince the Peace, were far heavier, than thoſe they ſuffered in the time of the war. The Duke of *Rohan* continues his ſollicitations at Court; and declared his mind ſo freely, that he was forbid any farther to mention of their affairs, it being the King's pleaſure that they ſhould addreſſe themſelves to the Deputies general, who alſo promiſed with all ſpeed poſſible to ſend Commiſſioners into the Provinces to put the Edict in execution, and redreſſe all their grievances.

In the mean while the Galleys remained ſtill at *Bourdeaux*, and the Duke of *Guiſe* came up with his Ships to the Iſle of *Re*, which gave a great alarm to *Rochelle*, and made the Duke of *Soubize*, and the Count *de Laval*, to retire alſo to the Town: But this fear was quickly over; the Duke withdrawing thence, and ſayling with his Ships towards *Marſeilles*, followed by the Galleys, whoſe abſence had much prejudiced the trade of *Provence*, imboldning the Pyrates ſo, that they took and carried away their Merchandizes even in ſight of *Marſeilles*. But the King diſcovering much diſpleaſure againſt thoſe that fled in to *Rochelle*, the Count *de Laval*, went to make his Apology at Court: But the Duke of *Soubize*, conceiving that way not honorable for him; and that his abode in *Poictou*, or *Britany*, could not be with any ſecurity, goes directly to *Caſtres*.

But let us now look after the Commiſſioners ſent into *Languedoc* to put the Edict in execution; *Favier*, Counſellor of State, and *Saint Privat*, were ſent on this imployment; but, to make ſhort, did nothing, either in the upper, or the lower *Languedoc*, tending to the caſe of thoſe of the Religion; but removing to *Pamiers*, fell into a diviſion concerning the buſineſſe of the Conſulare there, and each of them ſent his opinion, and reaſons to the Court: And thus paſſed the year one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty three.

In the beginning of the year 1624. *La Vieuville*, whom the Chancellour had advanced to the Super-intendance of the *Finances*, not enduring that his Benefactor ſhould be his Competitour in favour, amongſt other things complains of the diſſervices he and *Puiſieux* had done the State, in preferring the intereſt and advantage of *Rome*, and *Spaine*, before that of *Fraunce*; and that the

the acceptance of the Articles of Peace touching the affair of the *Valteline*, by the Commander *de Sillery* Embaſſadour at *Rome*, and brother to the Chancellour, was occaſioned by inſtructions, which he (unknown to the King) had received from *France*, to that purpoſe: Whereupon the King, as eaſie to believe the worſt, as hard to believe the beſt of any one, reſolves to deprive them of their Offices, and gives the Seals to *Alligre* Counſellour of State, and *Puiſieux* his Office of Secretary of State, was ſhared among his other companions; and *Vieuville* remained the only Favourite; who to improve their diſgrace to his further advantage, cauſed all the Embaſſadours to be changed, placing creatures of his own in their rooms; and had like to have framed a Criminal Proceſs againſt the Chancellour; who in a little while after dyed of grief and age; and the Keeper of the Seals was promoted to his place.

After this, the new Favourite, changing the former Maximes, that he might the better diſcover the male-adminiſtrations of thoſe whoſe diſgrace he had procured, cauſed the Treaty of the *Valteline* to be diſowned; obtaines another more advantageous to the State; ſets on foot the Marriage of *Madame* the King's Siſter, with the King of *England*; renews the Leagues for the recovery of the *Valteline*, and reſcuing it from the oppreſſion of the *Germanes*: To which end *Bethune* was ſent Embaſſadour extraordinary to *Rome*; the Marqueſs *de Cœuvres* to the *Valteline*; *Mansfield* into *Germany* with conſiderable Forces; and the Conſtable with the Duke of *Savoy* againſt the *Genoeſes*. This diſpoſition of affairs gave fair hopes of great matters, which indeed had very proſperous beginnings.

And that there might be a good ſtock of money to carry on the Warres, an Inquiſition into the *Financiers* was thought very expedient. And becauſe *Beaumarchais Vieuville*'s Father-in-law was the chiefeſt, and wealthieſt among them, they reſolved to diſgrace him firſt: And in order to it, firſt of all they ſcattered little Paſquils againſt him; afterwards they dealt more boldly, and plainly with him, and every one, prognoſticating, from the violent proſecution of his Father-in-law, that himſelf was not like to continue long, took liberty to exhibit accuſations againſt him alſo, ſo that at length the King commanded him to be arreſted, and ſent to *Amboiſe*, where he was kept till he made an eſcape, without ever knowing the cauſe of his Impriſonment, and is now at his own houſe in full liberty, and ſecurity.

To this Favourite ſucceeded the Cardinal *Richelieu*, who owed his firſt introduction to State employments to his predeceſſour *Vieuville*. See how faithfully theſe Favourites ſerve one another;

ther: The King recalls *Schomberg*, and ſets at liberty the Mare-ſhal d' *Ornano*, who by the inſtigation of *Vieuville* had been a little before committed to the *Baſtille*. The ſupport the Cardinal had from the Queen-Mother, made his favour more laſting than the others, and encouraged him alſo to greater inſolencies: For the King having a great averſion to the Queen, his Wife, and no leſs a jealouſie of his brother, the Duke of *Anjou*, conceived that the Queen his Mother, would be of great uſe to him, to moderate, and compoſe theſe domeſtick jars, which more diſturb the Palaces of great Princes than all their other affairs beſides.

The Cardinal who now graſped the whole power of *France*, continues the Treaty begun with Forraign Eſtates, and conſummates what his Predeceſſours had left imperfect. But *Arnaud*, Governour of *Fort-Lewis*, dying, and *Toiras* ſucceeding him in his commands, favoured by the Cardinal, and *Schomberg*, conceives greater hopes of ruining *Rochelle*, than ever *Arnaud* did; which were ſo earneſtly embraced, as if they had not at the ſame time undertaken a War againſt the King of *Spaine*; So that the *Rochellers*, ſadly reflecting upon the encreaſe of their perſecutions, and that the preparations to block them up by Sea were near perfected, and that the Forraign Engagements, nothing leſſened the contrivances againſt their Town, apply themſelves to the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubize* for their advice, and aſſiſtance; who were perplexed with many doubts about it, by reaſon of the diviſions, and other defections they had experimented in the former Wars, and that they were fearful of diſpleaſing the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*, becauſe of the League lately made by them with the King, conceiving that from them they were to expect either their preſervation, or their ruine: Nevertheleſs the neceſſities of the *Rochellers* forced them upon a deſign, which the Duke of *Soubize* undertook the management of on *Blavet*, and the ſhips that were there preparing for the Siege of *Rochelle*, hoping that upon his ſucceſs in the Attempt, the Allies, and Confederates of *France*, would more eaſily incline the King to an Accommodation with the *Rochellers*, as well for the difficulties, would obſtruct the purſuit of his intentions againſt them, by reaſon of the loſſe of the Ships deſtined to that purpoſe, as alſo for his deſires to continue the grand deſign of the League.

Upon this ground the Duke of *Soubize* about the latter end of the yeare departs from *Caſtres* to go into *Poictou*, where very ſecretly he makes ready five ſmall Veſſels; with which, notwithſtanding the perfidiouſneſs of *Noüailles*, to whom he had intruſted

the knowledge of the whole design, and who a little before it was ready for execution had discovered it; he resolved either to carry the Fort, or perish in the attempt. In the beginning of the year 1625, he sets saile from the Isle of *Ré*, with three hundred Souldiers, and an hundred Mariners, which gave the great Ship called the *Virgin* so brave a charge, that after some resistance, he himself boorded her the third man, with his sword in his hand, took her, and, presently after, all the rest.

After this he lands his Men, with a resolution to attempt the Fort, which upon *Noüailles* information, was newly reinforced with fifteen or sixteen piece of Canon, and a stronger Garison.

The Duke of *Vendosme* who was Governour of the Province, and had made great preparations to block up the Duke of *Soubize* in the Port of *Blavet*, presently rallies up two thousand Foot, with two hundred Gentlemen, to force him in the Port, and with an Iron Chaine, and a Cable, as big as a mans thigh, stops the mouth of it, which was very narrow and close adjoyning to the Fort; So that *Soubize* for three whole weeks was locked up in it, having nothing to guard his ships, and man the Town of *Blavet* (whose advenue, which was very straight, he had cut off) withal, but the above-said number of three hundred Souldiers; and was reduced to such an extremity, that the day before he got off, his great Ship called the *Virgin*, endured a battery of six pieces of Canon, and received an hundred and fifty shot.

Whiles he lay in this perillous condition, the wind, that had been, till then, still against him, changed, and *Soubize* seizing the opportunity, sent some *Shalloupes* mann'd with good resolute Souldiers, who, though all the while exposed to the fury of two thousand Musquet shot, with Hatchets cut asunder the chain, and the Cable, that barred the Port; By this means he got out with fifteen or sixteen ships, and lost but only two which were run aground on the Sands: In this Equipage he recovered the Isle of *Ré*, where having mended his ships, and gotten together about fifteen hundred men, he seizes on the Neighbouring Isle of *Oleron*, where he staid to compleat his Army.

The Duke of *Rohan*, at the same time, had also made way for some attempts in *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*: But the Secretary *Montbrun*, as he was travelling with some overtures from the Duke to his friends, was taken at *Villeneuf've* neare *Avignon*, and discovered all, which dashed the greatest part of his designs, and caused the three sons of *Montbrun* to retire to *Anduze*.

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Presently was the news spread abroad, that *Soubize* his project was discovered, and broken; and the long time he was shut up in the Port of *Blavet*, greatly perplexed the Duke of *Rohan*, who had no other news of him, than what the common rumour brought, but saw him disowned by the Town of *Rochelle*, by the Deputies general also, and by all the persons of quality, that were of the Religion, at *Paris*, who more favouring the Court faction, endeavour'd to make all our Towns disclaim him.

During this interval nothing was attempted: The two Eldest of *Montbrun*'s sonnes, discouraged at these unhappy beginnings, make their peace, renounced the Duke of *Rohan*, and go into *Dauphine*, but the youngest named *Saint André* the most resolute of them, came to *Castres*, and did what he could, though in vain, to encourage, and retain his Brothers in the Party.

The Chamber at *Beziers*, and the Presidial of *Nismes* also, together with all Officers of our Towns, make goodly Acts of disavowal, which they sent to the Court: But at length when the news came of *Soubize*'s gallant and fortunate Sally out of the Port of *Blavet*, and that he was absolute Master of the Sea, they began to think otherwise of him, than as of a Pyrate; and the Baron *Pujols* was sent from *Paris* to the Duke of *Rohan*, the Colonel *Revillas* from the Duke of *Savoy*, and after them came the Baron of *Coupet* also from the Constable, to mediate an accommodation, to which the Duke was really enclined, and clearly did what lay in him to promote it, out of a desire he had to serve the King in his Wars in *Italy*: But either the perpetual and malicious contrivances at Court, against those of the Religion, or the bad Instruments employed in the Treaty, or the indisposition, at that time, of the late King of *England*, and late Prince of *Orange*, to assist us, or all these things together, frustrated the negotiation of the success it might have otherwise had, and prevailed so with our Towns to make them disclaime the Duke of *Soubize*, that the Duke of *Rohan*, who till then would not stir, was now enforced to take up arms, to shew, that it was no defect of power, (as they imagined) but his zeal to pacifie and compose things, that had hitherto restrained him.

The first day of *May* he began with an attempt upon *Lavaur*, but coming an hour too late, he missed of his aimes there: yet was not this expedition wholly successeless, for in it he wrought all the Towns of *Lauraguais* to declare for him; and at his return to *Castres*, he found, that according to his order, the Marquess of *Malause* was turned out of *Realmont*, which about a month before he had possessed himself of: And here it is to be observed,

that *Malauze* was ſought after, as far as *Auvergne*, to be made Head of a party againſt the Duke of *Rohan*, for that the Town of *Rochelle* was divided, and the Common Council refuſed to joyn with *Soubize*: So that the Deputy of the Town, in all negotiations, ſpoke only as from the common people, which party, the Magiſtrates, and Principal Inhabitants, ſtill oppoſed: So that a very hard task had the Duke of *Rohan*, to reconcile, and unite the Town of *Rochelle*, and the other Corporations of the Religion with *Soubize*. And foraſmuch as it was very requiſite he ſhould go to bring about the *Sevenes*, and the lower *Languedoc*, where the Deputy of *Rochell* could not have audience; he convoqued an Aſſembly of the higher *Languedoc* at *Caſtres*, by which being choſen for their General, he raiſed ſome Troops, eſtabliſhed a Committee of the Aſſembly to order all affairs in his abſence, and then ſent *Saint Andre de Montbrun* with a Commiſſion to be Governour of *Montauban*, which after much reluctancy, at length declared alſo for the party.

This done, he goes thence with ſix hundred Foot, fifty Horſe, and four ſcore *Harquebuſiers*, and marches towards *Millaud*: When he came to *Saint Afrique*, he was met by *Courrelles*, ſent from the Town of *Rochelle*, and *Soubize*, to inform him of the entire conjunction of the whole Town with *Soubize*, and that, according to the Articles of Agreement, they had ſent Deputies to the Court, deſiring us to do the like; and to this end *La Faye Saint Orſe* had brought the King's paſs-ports for the principal Corporations; to which his Majeſty was at length induced, after he had in vain eſſayed to divide the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubize*, and bring them to ſeveral Treaties.

When the report of this news was alſo brought to the Council, and that *Courrelles* had repreſented to them the great diviſions of the *Rochellers*, and the factions ſprung up amongſt them, how extreamly deſirous they were of peace, upon what hard conditions they had joyned with *Soubize*, and the ill order they took for their Navy, they conceived they had now no time to throw away upon tedious debates; and that (though *Rohan* liked not of their procedure in Treating with the Court) ſince *Rochelle* had begun, it was expedient, to ſhew that the party was well united, and ready to follow their example. *Le Clerc*, and *Noaillan*, were choſen Deputies for *Montauban*, *Dorſon*, and *Madiane* for *Caſtres*, *Guerin* for *Millaud*, and *Forrain*, and *Milletiere*, for *Rohan*, who deſirous to extract what advantage he could out of this opportunity, to inſinuate into the *Sevenes*, makes uſe of the King's paſſe-ports to induce them to call an Aſſembly at *Anduze*; which happily ſucceeded: From *Millaud*

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he draws his Forces to *Saint John de Breuill*, which made a flourish, as if they intended to ſtand it out: but when they ſaw him in a poſture ready to ſtorme their Fort, they inſtantly changed their note, and ſubmitted. Hither came to him three Deputies from *Vigan*, to diſſwade him from marching thither, for that he would finde the Gates ſhut againſt him; to whom he gave no other anſwer, but that he would try whether he ſhould or not: The next day he continues his way, and two Leagues from *Vigan*, met another meſſenger to the ſame purpoſe, who alſo added, in caſe he advanced, threatnings of effuſion of blood: But this prevailing nothing on him, his adverſaries courage failed them, and they drew back; So that without any difficulty he got to *Vigan*; whoſe gates thus opened, cleared all the way as farre as *Anduze*.

Whiles he was on his march, the Preſidial of *Niſmes*, and alſo the Chamber of *Beziers*, uſed all their skill (but to no end) to alienate the affections of the people of the *Sevenes* from the Duke; who having reſolved on a journey to *Niſmes*, was yet loth to put it to a hazard, without firſt ſounding the inclinations of the Inhabitants, for fear leſt ſo publick an affront, as a refuſal to his face, ſhould ruine his whole affairs. To this end he ſent thither *Saint Blancart*, who having conference with ſome of his friends in the Suburbs, their advice was, that the Duke ſhould ſuſpend his coming thither, and that they would ſend their Deputies alſo to the Court, that the Town of *Uſez* ſhould do the like, with inſtructions conformable to thoſe of the *Sevenes*; which accordingly they performed, chooſing *Caſtanet* for *Niſmes*, and *Viguier*, *Goudin*, and *Boiſleau*, for *Uſez*.

The Duke of *Rohan* ſeeing, that he was excluded out of the Towns of *Niſmes*, *Uſez*, and *Alez*, convoques an Aſſembly of the *Sevenes*, at *Anduze*, the moſt numerous he could, where yet there were many wanting, from many of the Churches, eſpecially of the *Colloque* of *Saint Germine*, where the Marqueſs *des Portes* mainly oppoſed him; and after he was declared General of that Country, he ſent *Caillou*, *Du Cros*, *Puyredon*, and *Pageſy*, Deputies to the Court.

While theſe things were in agitation, the Marſhal *Themines* brought four thouſand Foot, ſix hundred Horſe, and Canon too, and with them a great terrour alſo upon the Countries of *Lauraguais*, and *Albigeois*; whereof the Duke being advertiſed by redoubled meſſages, he ſends back the Marqueſs of *Luſignan*, with all the Forces he had brought with him, and with all diligence haſtens his levies of Soulidiers, to be commanded by *Freton*,

Saint Blancart, and *Valescure*, in which his endeavours met with such unhappy traverses, that instead of four thousand men which was the number he aimed at, he could muster but half the number: Whiles these men were raising, he sent his Scouts towards *Sommieres*, resolving to attempt it with seven or eight hundred common Souldiers, upon this supposition, that *Valence* would not run the hazard of drawing out of his Garison, to relieve it, that it would be a means to make *Nismes* publickly declare for him; and that if he could have but twice four and twenty houres time, the whole Countrey would come in to him, and raise him to a condition able to force the Castle: But, as it is dangeros thing to presume on the defects of others, instead of relying on a mans own strength, the event clearly deluded his preconceptions; For though he had taken the Town, *Nismes* would not stirre to his assistance, nor could he get relief from the *Sevenes* time enough; *Valence* at the same time sent twelve hundred men, out of his Garison, to relieve the Castle, who from three of the Clock in the afternoon, till night, fought with *Saint Blancart*, who had lodged himself, with three hundred men only, in a place of such advantage, that he could be no way forced, nor yet could he hinder the entry of the relief into the Castle, by reason of the extream largness of the advenue: Which the Duke perceiving called off *Saint Blançart* into the Town; resolving, that night, to draw off with the whole party also, which he did, carrying with him his wounded men; and among others *Freton*, who was wounded with a Musquet shot in the knee, of which he afterwards dyed: *Saint Blancart* in this conflict, when the relief enter'd the Castle, lost three Captaines, and some other Officers.

After this, the Duke thought on nothing more, than hastning his Levies, that he might be in a condition to relieve the higher *Languedoc*; and taking order that his affairs in the *Sevenes* might not be prejudiced in his absence; to prevent which, he left a Committee of the Assembly, to direct the management of them; in which he engaged all that had any interest in the places of greatest consequence, and left *Chavagnac* his Field Marshal to command all the Souldiery in that Countrey.

While these things were in agitation in the *Sevenes*, and the lower *Languedoc*, the Marshal *Themines* drew near to *Castres* to plunder, and spoyle the Countrey, which put the Council the Duke had left there, in such a confusion and feare, that they durst not give order for any thing at all, but left the whole burthen upon the Dutchess of *Rohan*, who contrary to the natural and more tender disposition of her Sex, shewed so much care

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and reſolution in all things, that, every one deriving courage from her example, the Marſhal received ſeveral loſſes, being worſted in every skirmiſh before the Town; where *Nougarede* an old Gentleman of the Country got much honour.

In the mean while the Marqueſs of *Luſignan* marches towards *Caſtres*, with thoſe Forces the Duke had given him to conduct thither; which when the Marſhal had intelligence of, he drew off his Cavalry, and part of his Infantry, to fight him; whom he found lodged in *Croiſette*, a Village two Leagues diſtant from *Caſtres*, where he ſtormed him, but found him ſo well Barricado'd, and reſolute upon his defence, that after a furious aſſault, he was faine to retire with much loſs, many of his men being ſlain and wounded; which when he had done, the Marqueſs of *Luſignan* retreated as farre as *Braſſac*, and the next day, taking another way, marched with all his Troops into *Caſtres*, at noon day, Drums beating, and Colours flying, and without any oppoſition at all. This renfort, with ſome skirmiſhes that paſſed to the Marſhal's diſadvantage, made him, ſeeing he could do no further miſchief to the Town, reſolve to retire to *Saint Paul*, and *la Miatte*, which were ſufficiently manned: Nevertheleſs *Saint Paul* made no reſiſtance at all, but was taken in the open day without any battery raiſed, or ſiege formed, and the Souldiers all marched off to *La Miatte*, which they yielded alſo upon compoſition not to bear arms for ſix months.

This was the only check the Marſhal *Themines*, by chance, gave us in *Lauraguais*, and *Albigeois*, where, when he had fired the aforeſaid places, he made as if he would beſiege *Realmont*. But underſtanding that the Duke of *Rohan* was come hither with above two thouſand men, which he brought from the *Sevenes*, whoſe paſſage at *Larſac*, where he had deſigned to fight him, ſince he could not prevent; he draws off all his horſe and foot, marches up almoſt to *Caſtres*, firing all as he went, paſſes by *Braſſac*, endeavouring to gain a commodious field for his Cavalry, between *Cauve* and *Viane*: But *Rohan*, having intelligence of it, makes ſuch haſte, that by inceſſant marches night and day, he got to *Viane*, before the other could be on his way thither; from whence he ſent the Regiment of *Valeſcure* to *Cauve*, and his own guards, and the Captain *Dupuy* with his Carabines (for that his foot was ſo tired they could not march) to *Braſſac*.

The Marſhal having now loſt all hopes of preventing the Duke, and taking *Braſſac*, goes forward, burning ſome Villages in his march, and comes with his whole ſtrength, both of Horſe, and Foot, in ſight of *Viane*, where having drawn them up in Battalia,

lia, and seeing that the Suburbs of *Viane*, called *Peireſegade*, which lies at the bottome of the Town, and is divided from it, by the height of the hill, was not at all fortified, falls into it with all his Forces, takes, and fires it, and then retires to his Quarters: In this assault there was one Captain slain, another taken, and about five and twenty, or thirty Souldiers killed and wounded, *Saint Blancart* also had a light hurt; and the souldiers that were in the Suburbs drew up to the Town.

The Dutchess of *Rohan*, who by several messengers had sent to informe the Duke, of the Marshal's design to stop his passage, omits nothing on her part, but sends to all the Garisons, appointing them a Rendezvouz at *Brassac*; which the Duke having notice of, he departs that evening, and comes to *Brassac*; where finding fifteen hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse; he resolves, the next night to send out to discover the posture of the Marshal's Army, which lay at *Esperance* between *Brassac* and *Viane*, and according to the intelligence he should receive to fall into his Quarters the night following, with all his Troops, *Saint Blancart* by the way of *Viane*; and he himself by the way of *Brassac*. The discovery made, and the Scouts returning with intelligence that the Army lay there in great disorder, and in a place of great disadvantage to the Horse, the design to beat it up was concluded on; but the very day preceding the night it was to be put in execution, either upon notice given him, or that he foresaw their intentions, or that provisions failed him, he quitted those Quarters, and taking his way towards *Vabres*, went to lodge at *La Bichenie*: The Duke also rallyes all his Forces, and marches towards *Croisette*, and *Roque-coupe*, from whence he sent five or six hundred men into *Realmont*, and then divides all his Troops about *Castres*, to observe the posture of the enemy, who when they had refreshed themselves for some dayes about *Lautree*, march towards *Lavaure*, and there prepare for a march into *Foix*: The Duke goes into *Lauragnais*, puts some men into *Briteste*, sends the Regiment of *Freton* to *Revel* and *Sourie*, and that of *Montlux* and *Valescure*, to *Realmont*, and as soon as he saw that the enemy steered his course towards *Foix*, he commanded *Saint Blancart*, who was then at *Puylaurens*, thither with five hundred chosen men.

Lusignan, in the mean time, being informed that the Regiment of *Lescure* had taken up their Quarters in the Suburbs of *Teillet*, goes instantly to beat them up; breaks through their Barricado's, kills, and wounds about an hundred, takes one Captaine, and forces the rest to flie for shelter to the Fort; but had he come by night, as he did by day, not one of them had escaped.

ped; for there was a very great diſſention between *Grandval*, who commanded the Fort, and *Leſcure*, to whom he would never have opened his Gates in the night time; which was the reaſon that induced *Luſignan* to this attempt, in which *Valeſcure*, and *Montluz*, two Colonels were wounded, but not much: After this the Duke of *Rohan* returns to *Caſtres*, whither he commands *Luſignan* alſo; rallies what Forces he had, takes with him one piece of Canon, and Marches towards *Realmont*, both to give the enemy a diverſion, and to enrich his Army with Booty.

The firſt place he fell upon was *Sicurac*, which endured five and twenty, or thirty Canon ſhot, but after he had fired the Town through the breach, they were faine to yield. This march of his made the whole Countrey look about them; The Duke of *Ventadour* got together about two hundred Horſe, and two thouſand Foot; The Marſhal *Themines* alſo hies thither, with all his Horſe, and the Regiment of *Normandy*; but both the one, and the other, being informed that the place was taken, went back again; and the Duke continues his courſe towards the Mountain of *Albigeois* and *Roüergue*, leaving his great Canon at *Realmont*, and taking with him only two little field pieces, that carried a Ball about the bigneſs of an Orange.

Thoſe of *Foix* in the interim, ſent him word, that the Inhabitants of *Caumont*, *Lesbordes*, *Samarac*, and *Camerade*, were reſolved to fire their own Towns, and retire, the former to *Mazeres*, the other to *Axil*, for that they wanted Souldiers to defend them; whereupon the Duke commanded thither *Boiſſiere* Lieutenant Colonel of *Freton*'s Regiment, with five hundred men, many of whom, when they heard they were to go to *Foix*, forſook their colours, ſo that he went with two hundred and forty only, who got very well thither.

And here we may not paſs over in ſilence a generous action of ſeven Souldiers of *Foix*, who reſolved, in a poor mudd walled houſe called *Chambonnet* near *Carlat*, to wait for the Marſhal *Themines*, and his whole Army, whom they there kept at a Bay two whole dayes; and after they had, in ſeveral aſſaults, killed forty of his men, ſeeing their ammunition was ſpent, and that he was drawing down his Canon upon them; they conſulted how they might, the night following ſave themſelves; to which end one of them goes out to diſcover how they might avoid the Courts of Guard; which when he had done, and as he was returning, the Centinel of the Houſe eſpying him, and taking him for one of the Enemy, ſhot at him, and broke one of his Thighs; Nevertheleſs he gave them an account of his diſcovery, ſhews them

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the way, and very inſtantly urged them to make their eſcape: But his brother, who was alſo the man had wounded him, almoſt mad with grief, reſolves not to leave him, and tells him, that ſince he had been the unhappy inſtrument of his diſaſter, he would be his companion in what fortune ſoever befell him: The good nature of one of their Couzin *Germains*, moved him alſo to a reſolution of embracing their deſtiny; ſo the other four at the requeſt of theſe, and under favour of the night, after mutual embraces, ſave themſelves; whiles theſe three, placing themſelves at the door, charge their Muſquets, with patience expect the light, and then moſt valiantly receive their enemies, of whom when they had ſlain a good number, themſelves dyed freemen: The names of theſe poor Souldiers deſerve a place in Hiſtory, their action being not inferiour to the moſt memorable, Antiquity can boaſt of.

But to return to the Duke of *Rohan*, who marches along the frontires of *Rouergue*, and takes a ſmall Fort called *Roque Cizière*, in which he left a Garriſon; the ſame day he goes to another, called *La Baſtide*, which he found deſerted, as alſo ſome others which were pillaged, and burnt: From thence he goes to *la Cauve*, and in his way thence towards *Augle*, takes and burns ſome other ſmall Forts; and then makes a deſcent into the Valley of *Mazuel*, where he goes on fieing more Forts, up as far as Saint *Pons*: And as he would have continued this progreſſe, in revenge of thoſe places the Marſhal of *Themines* had fired in his abſence; he received intelligence from *Bretigny*, Governour of *Foix*, and from *Saint Blancart* alſo; that the Marſhal *Themines*, and the Count *de Carmain*, Governour of the Province, had inveſted *Azil*, with an Army of ſeven thouſand foot, ſix hundred horſe, and nine peece of Canon; that there were in it ſeven hundred ſouldiers, people of the ſame Countrey, which they had ſent thither, under the command of Captain *Carbouſt*, and Captain *Vallette*, both experienced old ſouldiers; that they could not conjecture, what would be the iſſue of the Siege, for that the place was but weak, and the aſſaults moſt furious; but yet was it of that conſequence, that if it ſhould miſcarry with thoſe which were in it, there would not be men enough left to maintain the lower *Foix*, both by reaſon of the weakneſſe of *Pamiers*, which would require a very ſtrong Garriſon, and alſo of the Intelligences the enemy had in it: But if he could ſpare them a recruit but of five hundred Men, they would engage themſelves to keep the lower *Foix*, and would do their uttermoſt to preſerve *Azil*.

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This Intelligence diverted the Dukes reſolutions, who thereupon ſent *Luſignan* with a party of Horſe and Foot, to convoy the Canon back to *Caſtres*, and thence to *Realmont*, while he himſelf with the reſidue of his Troops, with much difficulty convoys ſix hundred Souldiers to *Revel*, where when they had ſtaid a day to receive ſome pay, he ſent them under the command of *Valeſcure* into *Foix*, who conducted them very well thither; and then returns to *Caſtres*.

The difference between the Baron *de Leran*, and *Bretigny*, much perplexed the Duke of *Rohan*, for that, being Maſter of *Carlat* (which was but a League diſtant from *Azil*) it was in his power either to promote, or impede its relief; Whereupon he ſent *Villemore* and *Oroſe*, Captains of his guards, to make him ſenſible of the injury he did himſelf, in obſtructing the relief of *Azil*, by denying his Souldiers admittance into *Carlat*, commanding them withal, in caſe the Baron would not ſubmit to reaſon, publickly to declare to the people of *Carlat* the cauſe of their coming; which they ſo handſomely ordered, that he was compelled by the Inhabitants to yield to the Duke's commands, and to receive whatever Souldiers ſhould at any time be ſent thither, by his order, which proved no ſmall advantage to *Azil*, and indeed was the only cauſe of its preſervation.

While things were thus carried on in *Foix*, the Duke *d'Eſpernon*, with fifteen hundred Horſe, and four thouſand Foot, advances towards *Montauban* to ravage the Countrey thereabouts; and *Soubize*, to divert him, makes a deſcent into *Medoc*, where he took ſome Gariſons: But underſtanding that *Manti*, with the Admiral of *Zealand*, named *Haultin*, were coming againſt him with forty good Ships of War, he re-imbarques, meets, fights, and defeats them, ſinks five of their Ships, of which the Vice-Admiral of *Zealand* was one, and kills them more than fifteen hundred men.

The news of this defeat, made them change their note at Court, and whereas before they protracted the Treaty in expectation of the iſſue of this fight, now, ſeeing it proved to their diſadvantage, they conclude it, and ſend Deputies to the *Rochellers*, to receive their acceptance of it: *Forain* alſo goes to them from the Duke of *Rohan*, who, conſidering the indiſpoſition of the King of *England*, and the Prince of *Orange*, towards their party, adviſed them to accept of that peace their Naval Victory had purchaſed them; to which *Soubize* adds his perſwaſions alſo; but the *Rochellers* very indiſcreet in that particular, and according to the humour of people as inſolent in proſperity, as dejected in adverſity, refuſe to hearken to it, without a preſent demolition of the Fort.

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In the mean time the King takes great care ſpeedily to repair his Fleet, and obtains of the King of *England* ſeven great Ships; So that the delayes the *Rochellers* uſed in concluding the Treaty of peace, gave their enemies opportunity to corrupt ſome of the Captains of *Soubize* his Fleet, and among others, his Vice-Admiral *Forzan*: At the ſame time alſo the Duke of *Montmorency* reſolves upon a deſcent into the Iſle of *Ré*, and to make an attempt upon *Soubize* his Fleet which lay in the *Foſs de l' Oye*, a Road joyning to the Town of *Saint Martin de Ré*, a raſh and ſenſeleſs enterprize in appearance, which yet treachery made feiſible, and purchaſed it a far different Character.

Then came *Milletiere* and *Madiane* to *Rochelle*, with the Articles of peace agreed on at *Fontainbleau*; but it was then, when *Soubize*, who was in the Iſle of *Ré*, ſent them word thence, that the King's Navy were ſayling towards him, and that with all ſpeed they ſhould tranſport themſelves into the Iſland: At firſt, every one laughed at this Meſſage, nay, and there were ſome in *Rochelle* offered to lay great wagers, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships were called off again; *Soubize* reiterates his Meſſages, and for the laſt time ſummons them to his aſſiſtance: There were then in *Rochelle* eight hundred Gentlemen well mounted, and about eight or nine hundred Souldiers, of *Soubize* his Army, with the greateſt part of his Officers, and among others the Counts of *Laval*, and *Loudriere*: Upon this laſt ſummons they all make ready to imbarque; but the Maior diverted them, perſwading them that they were better to expect the morning, than run the hazard of the evening Tide, and ſo made them loſe all opportunity to tranſport themſelves; For the next morning appeared thirteen of the King's great Ships in the Road, which prevented their paſſage over: *Soubize* ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned, lands all his Foot, which were not above fifteen hundred Souldiers, leaving only an hundred in his great ſhip called the *Virgin*; commands his Admiral *Guiton*, and his Vice-Admiral *Forzan*, not to ſtirre out of the Road, where they were ſecure, but there to wait his further Orders; And then divides his Army into three Squadrons, to ſecure thoſe three places, which he conceived moſt obnoxious to danger, and where he thought it moſt probable that the enemies ſhould attempt to land: But, notwithſtanding all his care, he could not diſpatch time enough, before *Toiras* had landed three thouſand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horſe; whereupon he reſolved to draw all his men into a body, and fight him the next day, which accordingly he did: At the firſt onſet he routed the Avantguard, and ſlew about three or foureſcore of the moſt forward of them; but being relieved by

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the main body, *Bellesbat* who commanded *Soubize* his left wing, instead of seconding him, faced about, and plunged himself, and the whole party he commanded in the Marshes: This much encouraged the Enemy, who now oppressed *Soubize* on all sides, whose Major General *Verger-Malague*, and some of his Captains being slain, the rest fled in such confusion, that all the Art and Industry of *Soubize* could not rally them againe; who yet that day, even by the confession of his enemies, justly purchased the reputation of a worthy Commander, and valiant Souldier. The remainder of his Troops he drew off to *Saint Martin de Re*, where he made account to transport them againe to his ships, and once more try his Fortune in a battaile at Sea; But there he found, so great a terrour had possessed *Guiton*, that contrary to his expres's command, he had turned out the hundred Souldiers left in the *Virgin*; and that *Fozan*, with some Captains, combined in the same conspiracy with him, to intimidate the rest, had runne aground the best ships, and that the rest, seeing themselves thus betrayed, and abandoned, shifted every one, the best he could, for himself; all but the *Virgin*, in which there were only five Men left, but very resolute, who seeing four of the King's ships making towards them, resolved to stand it out against all extremities: The enemy came up to, grappled with, and boorded them, whereupon the Master, whose name was *Durand*, leaps into the powder with a lighted match, and blows up all the five Ships together, in which there perished seven hundred thirty six men.

In this accident there was one thing very remarkable, concerning one *Chaligny* a Gentleman of *Poictou*, and his son, who were two of the five left in the Ship: The father, before the firing of the Magazine, being wounded, and disabled to save himself by swimming, commanded his son to shift for himself, who, with much reluctancy, at length obeyed him; but the good man, being in the protection of God, was as well preserved, as his Sonne; for being, by the force of the Powder, carried up into the aire, he chanced to fall into a Shalloup of the enemies, without receiving any further harm at all, and was afterwards ransomed.

Soubize finding his affairs in so broken a condition, leaves his Major General *Le Parc d' Archiat*, at *Saint Martin d' Re*, and in a Shalloup gets to the Isle of *Oleron*, where he provides the best he could for the preservation of it, leaving five hundred men in the Fort, which he furnished with all necessaries, and then, with seven of his ships, which had retired thither, sets out to sea, and out of the reliques of his late Fleet, gets together

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two and twenty Ships, with which he passes into *England* to repair them: After which, *Le Parc d' Archiac*, made an honourable composition, which was also well observed, and drew off all his men from the Isle of *Ré* to *Rochelle*; But those that *Soubize* left in the Isle of *Oleron* yielded themselves basely, a thing not unusual after such routs; for it is not given to all men, to have their courages of an equal temper in adversity and prosperity.

This fatal accident did not so much deject the spirits of the *Rochellers*, as it elevated theirs at Court: For when *Milletiere* and *Madiane*, returned thither with the *Rochellers* acceptance of the peace, they would not endure any further mention of it; but to break them by a division, continued their old project of granting a peace to the higher and lower *Languedoc*, excluding *Rochelle*, and *Soubize*.

While these things thus passed in those parts, they of *Ariil* held out beyond the expectation of their friends, and the hopes of their enemies that besieged them, who from a battery of Nine Guns sent them in three thousand shot, and made three indifferent large breaches: But the enemy preparing to give them a general, and furious storme, *Bretigny*, and *Saint Blancart*, who had several times relieved them, resolved, now at this last push, to Rack all their powers for them; The conduct of this relief was undertaken by *Saint Blancart*, who got in to them with three hundred and fifty men, forcing, in his passage, a Court of guard which kept a Bridge, with the loss of one man only: The arrival of this renfort silenced all disputes, among the besieged, concerning the command, which before had occasioned some divisions among them; but all acknowledging *Saint Blancart* for their Superiour, he so well ordered all things, that after the expence of eighteen hundred Canon Bullets within the space of three dayes, the Marshal *Themines* gave them a fierce assault with his whole Army, commanding also five hundred Reformado's to dismount, and serve on Foot (there being many hundreds of people that had placed themselves on the tops of Mountains to behold this fight:) Thrice was he repulsed with the loss of above five hundred men; Within the Town the Captain *Vallette* who commanded at one of the breaches was there slaine, some other Officers too, the besieged lost, together with seventy or eighty Souldiers slaine and wounded: But above all, either friends or enemies, *Saint Blancart* there Renowned himself, both by his prudent care and vigilance in repairing the breaches, and his Valour in defending them, being alwayes ready in person at all places of greatest danger; in this action surpassing even himself: The Marshal

ſhal now thinks of nothing, but how to draw off his Canon; in which having ſpent two whole nights, and many of his Souldiers, which he loſt in the Attempt; he drew off with the Fragments of his ſhattered Army towards *Languais*.

This ſmall ſucceſs, together with the effect the Duke of *Rohan*'s continual ſollicitations wrought upon the people of *Niſmes*, inducing them to declare for his party, relevated his affairs out of the drooping condition they were in: Some of our Deputies then attending the Court, were about the ſame time ſent to the Communalties to procure their acceptance of the peace, excluding *Rochelle* and *Soubize*, which many ill affected zealouſly promoted, eſpecially at *Caſtres*, where they had reſolved to aſſent to it upon thoſe terms: But *Rohan* arriving there in the nick, and urging their former reſolutions to the contrary, made them alter their intentions, and then ſummoned an Aſſembly at *Millaud*, where the Towns of *Niſmes* and *Uſez* appeared by their Deputies, and all unanimouſly made an Act of acceptance joyntly with *Soubize* and *Rochelle*, and ſent it to the Court.

The Duke who ſeveral times had experience of their endeavours to ſurprize him, under pretence of Treating, ſtops not there, but goes to *Niſmes*, and *Uſez*, where he was received with great acclamations of joy; and having confirmed his Party in *Aletz*, by ſending thither *Marmeyrac*, a Gentleman of the Country, to head them upon occaſion, departs one night from *Niſmes*, and comes the next morning, by ten of the Clock, to *Aletz*, where at firſt he found the gates ſhut againſt him, but the induſtry and diligence of *Marmeyrac* quickly got them open, ſo that now there was not any place in the lower *Languedoc*, or the *Sevenes*, that had not declared for the Duke of *Rohan*, who convened an Aſſembly of the *Sevenes* at *Aletz*, both to aſſure himſelf of the Town, and alſo of the *Colloque* of *Saint Germain*, which the continual ſollicitations of the Marqueſs *de Portes*, and his faction, had ſtill kept off from him; which obliged the Duke, in the interim, before the meeting of the Aſſembly, to make a ſtep thither, where his preſence was of great uſe, both to procure Deputations for the Aſſembly, and the conjunction of that *Colloque* with the others.

At the beginning of the Aſſembly the Dutcheſs of *Rohan* diſpatched *Villette* to the Duke her Husband, with intelligence, that, upon the aſſurance many Communalties had given of their readineſs to accept of the offered peace, with the excluſion of *Soubize* and *Rochelle*, the Court party ſtiffely perſiſted in their former reſolutions; not to admit of any other, and had ſent back

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ſome of their Deputies to declare their adherence to them; and that therefore it would concern him, to have a vigilant eye upon their actions: This meſſage had a ſiniſter ſence put upon it, and the Marqueſs of *Montbrun*, who a few dayes before came to *Niſmes*, on purpoſe to inſinuate himſelf into the affections of the people, found no better expedient to effect it, than vailing his intentions with a pretence of much zeal to the Religion, by forging ſcandalous accuſations againſt the Duke of *Rohan*; which when he had notice of, and that *Du Cros* was come with the final determination of the Court, not to grant any peace, but with the excluſion of *Soubize*, and *Rochelle*; he took him with him to *Niſmes*, convoqued a ſecond Aſſembly at *Millaud*, and cauſed *Niſmes*, and *Uſez*, in his preſence, to nominate their Deputies, and reſolve in no wiſe to deſert *Soubize* and *Rochelle*; from thence he went to *Vigan*, where he alſo cauſed Deputies, of the like reſolution with thoſe of *Niſmes* and *Uſez*, to be choſen for all the *Sevenes*; and with them all proceed together to *Millaud*.

While he was thus buſied about theſe affairs, he receives news of *Soubize* from the Dutcheſs of *Rohan*, which aſſured him, that, within three months, the King of *England* would ſend a very conſiderable relief to *Rochelle*, deſired him to make it known to the party, and to order things ſo, that they deſert him not. When he came to *Millaud*, he underſtood that the higher *Languedoc* had determined to accept of the peace, excluding *Soubize* and *Rochelle*, and that, had not the preſence of *Luſignan*, and *Saint Blancart*, as they returned from *Foix* with the Troops of the *Sevenes*, very opportunely prevented it, they had ſent their acceptance to the Court. This intelligence made the Duke carry on the Aſſembly as far as *Caſtres*, where when he had aſſembled the Province anew, and received the reſolutions of thoſe of *Montauban*, to the ſame effect with thoſe of the Provinces of the lower *Languedoc*, and the *Sevenes*, he inforced the former to retract their late intentions, and to confirm the other Act of acceptance, including *Soubize* and *Rochelle*: But to effect this, he was obliged to ſome extremities, ſecuring the perſons of ſeven or eight of the moſt eminent Citizens, whom he diſperſed into divers places of *Rouergue*, and the Mountain of *Albigeois*; publiſhing a Declaration of what he had done, as alſo the reaſons moving him thereunto, together with the Decrees of the ſaid Provinces, which were approved by all, except the Town of *Puylaurens*, who reſolved to ſtand upon their Guards, and not to open their gates to any of either ſide; proteſting notwithſtanding that they would not diſ-unite from the party of the Religion.

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THE Memoires OF THE DUKE of *ROHAN*:

The fourth Book.

Containing a Relation of the third Warre against those of the Reformed Religion in France.

AFter the peace was thus accepted by those of the Religion, *Brison* only, who had not taken up Armes till towards the end of the War, seeing that a submission to the Treaty of peace would divest him of *Pousin*, a place upon the *Rhone*, which, not long before, he had surprized, refused to be compriſed in it; encouraged thereunto by the Constable *Lesdiguieres*, who after his return out of *Piedmont*, being in some disfavour at Court, and unwilling to return thither, but catching at all employments that might colour his abode in his own Government, made very good use of this occasion, which he so well improved, that having spun out this affair for some months, he at length procured *Brison*

ſon an ample Pardon, and forty thouſand Crowns, in lieu of that place, which was yielded up by him, and afterwards, by the King's command demoliſhed.

This was the laſt Act of the Conſtable's life, which ſuddenly after the termination of this affaire, crowned with many dayes and much honour, he yielded up at *Valence*: He was a Gentleman of *Dauphine*, who by his valour, prudence, and good fortune, having paſſed through all the leſſer charges of the War, had advanced himſelf to the higheſt: And had not ſo conſtant and uninterrupted a courſe of proſperity, effaced, towards his latter end, all ſhame in him, ſo that, he diſhonoured God, by his domeſtick, and infamous debauches, ſullying his houſe with Adulteries, and publique Inceſts, he might have juſtly been paralleld with the greateſt Perſons, Antiquity can boaſt of!

From this amicable compoſure of our Inteſtine differences, ſprung faire hopes of the duration of our peace; which in a ſhort time alſo withered: For it was contrary to the intention of thoſe that aimed to raiſe their fortunes upon the ruines of thoſe of the Religion: Amongſt whom the Marqueſs *de Portes* was the moſt violent, who favoured by the command he had in the lower *Languedoc*, left no way uneſſayed to force the people upon ſome deſperate courſe; of whom he exacted contributions as in the time of the War, though by the Articles of the Treaty, they were entirely aboliſhed: But this being not enough to provoke a people harraſſed with ſo many and yet ſmarting miſchiefs, and covetous to enjoy the ſmall repoſe they poſſeſſed, they fly to another invention; which was to ground a jealouſie upon the Duke of *Rohan*'s ſtay at *Niſmes*, which many, out of a deſire, either to conſerve an old ill paid penſion, or to purchaſe a new one, fomented with frequent calumnies, no week paſſing without ſome new accuſations exhibited againſt him, upon which, and the facility they propoſed to themſelves of expelling him the Town, they reſolve to make him the object of their malice, furthering their deſign by an occaſion taken from the annual elections of the Conſuls for *Niſmes*, who are alwayes choſen at the later end of the year.

Whiles they ſo induſtriouſly labour his ruine here, they are nothing leſs remiſs to procure it in the other Provinces, and indeed over all *France*, ſtriking at him by the National Synod, appointed to be held at *Caſires* as a place moſt animated againſt the Duke, for that during the laſt War, he had uſed ſome ſeverity towards ſome perſons of quality in that Town, that would have betrayed him. Thither was ſent Commiſſioner *Galand*, a per-

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ſon without contradiction of very great abilities, but withal mercenary, and void of ſhame, or conſcience, with inſtructions to diſapprove the Duke of *Roban*'s late engagement in armes, to diſadvow his forraign Intelligences, and, if poſſible, to get him excommunicated.

The Duke ſeeing two ſuch ſtrong batteries raiſed againſt him, and threatning more danger than the War it ſelf, prepares to defend himſelf againſt their violence: And foraſmuch as that of the Synod ſeemed to be of greateſt conſequence, he endeavoured to ſecure himſelf againſt it, by procuring, in ſeveral Provinces of *France*, the election of ſuch perſons for Deputies, as were men of an inflexible integrity both to the Party and himſelf too; and draws up a Declaration, remonſtrating chiefly the juſt cauſe he had to uſe ſuch proceedings againſt thoſe he had formerly expelled the Town; for that he knew that to be the principal crime they had to charge him with in the Synod: And foraſmuch as the Town at a publick conſultation had ordered their gates to be kept ſhut againſt him, and that he feared the like uſage from them to any ſhould come from him, he very privately made choice of another Miniſter, in the room of his own Chaplaine, to communicate his Declaration to his friends, and to entreat *Beaufort* the Deputy of the *Sevenes* to deliver his Letter, which he had written to the Synod, with charge, that neither the one, nor the other ſhould diſcover themſelves, but when it might be very ſeaſonable; which happened well to him; for they were prepared to refuſe admittance to any that ſhould come from him; nay, *Marmet* his Chaplain, though he proteſted, that he came only about an affair of particular concernment to himſelf, could not be permitted any longer ſtay there, than of four and twenty houres.

On the fifteenth of *September*, in the year 1626, *Chauve* was choſen Moderator, *Bouteroue* Aſſiſtant, *Blondel* Paſtor, and *Petit* an Advocate of *Niſmes* Scribe. And now *Galand* beſtirres himſelf againſt the Duke of *Roban*, whoſe enemies in *Caſtres* are no leſs diligent in preparing the venome they had to poure out againſt the Duke in the Synod, animated alſo thereunto by the Commiſſioner *Galland*: But all their deſignes vaniſhed into air: For the Deputies being before ſufficiently ſatisfied with the reaſons moving the Duke to proceed againſt them in that manner, made them not dare to preſent any bill againſt him to the Synod; who nevertheleſs could not conceale the diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt thoſe of *Caſtres*, with whom they diſclaimed any future reconciliation; ſo that they were now become a generall abomination; and the only way to ruine any affaire, was to

offer it to *Galand*'s recommendation; And thus ended the Synod, where, by the Kings command, (that he might abridge those of the Religion, of their liberty of convening any Generall Assemblies) were chosen the Deputies General: The six nominated, were the Count *de la Suze*, the Marquess of *Galerande*, and *Beaufort* for the Nobility: and for the Commonalty, *Texier*, *Dupuy* Deputy of *Burgogne*, and *Bazin*; of whom *Galerande* and *Bazin* were accepted.

This affair thus terminated, we must now reflect upon the Consulate of *Nismes*. The Presidial, or Soveraign Court of the Town, according to the humour of many Corporations, not brooking the Duke of *Rohan* so near them, joyned with a Party composed of many persons of Note in the Town, whom the Court faction had invited, and drawn over to them: But finding themselves yet too weak by ordinary and Legal wayes, to promote to the Consulate Creatures of their own, they resolve to engage the Royal power in it, and to effect it by wayes unusual and destructive to their own Priviledges, and contrary to the Articles of the late Peace. To which end, they send privately to the Court, where they obtain a Commission directed to the Chamber of Edict in *Languedoc*, to go and order the said Election of the Consuls; and that nothing might be omitted to forward their design, the Duke of *Montmorency* is sent from the Court into his government, who passes by *Nismes*, where he encourages those of his Faction, which he strengthens with the neighbouring Nobility; and those he could not win to his Party, he forces to absent themselves from the Town, till the business was determined: And for as much as the Marquess of *Montbrun* towards the latter end of the former war, had gained some credit among the Populacy, he was also sent for out of *Dauphine*; for they hoped not only to make such Consuls as should be at their devotion, but upon the Dukes opposing himself against it, to hale him out of the Town, dead or alive: These things thus prepared, the day of Election comes; the Marquess of *Montbrun* also arrives at the time appointed, so do *Monsac*, *DeSuc*, and the two *Deans* (or Seniour Counsellors) of the Chamber, who were nominated Commissioners for this affair; who declaring their charge to the Deputies of the Town, receive for answer, their fixed resolutions, to maintain the Priviledges of the Town: The Common-Council of which meet according to their accustomed manner, in the morning to proceed to the said Election; whither the Commissioners go also; but finding the doors of the Town-house shut, are fain to return to their lodgings, where they declare against the proceedings of the Common-Council, and send

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When their affairs were brought to this pass, the Deputies were sent back to the Court with the final determination of the Provinces not to abandon *Rochelle*: And a few dayes after their departure, arrives a Messenger from *Vivarets*, who informed the Duke, that *Brison* had taken *Pousin*, and some other places of less importance, and that all *Vivarets* had declared for his party, and did beseech him to advow the taking of those places, and to confer the Government of *Pousin*, and the whole Province upon *Brison*, which he condescended to.

Not long after, the Dutchess of *Rohan* sends the Viscount *Roussille* to her husband, with intelligence that the Earle of *Holland*, and Sir -- *Carleton* extraordinary Ambassadors from *England*, and *Arsens* extraordinary Ambassadour from the States of *Holland*, were arrived at Court to solicite the King to sign the League, and make us accept the peace, which she believed was already well advanced, and that she desired, if possible, to hear from him before it were concluded; to which the Duke replied by the same Messenger, that above all things the Deputies should endeavour to preserve from demolition, the fortifications of *Pousin*; that that being obtained, and the *Rochellers* contented, the Communalties where he was, would rest very well satisfied: But besides the aforesaid Ambassadours, those of *Venice* and *Savoy*, in short, all that were interessed in the League, out of the hopes the King would sign it, interposed their mediation also, to hasten the peace; which the Ambassadours of *England* by a Deed in writing, in the name of the King their Master, became sureties for the entire observation of; against which the Deputies of the Communalties having nothing to object, the peace was accepted by them, on the fifth day of *February*, eight dayes before the return of the Viscount *Roussille*.

Whil'st the Duke was busied in composing the disorders of the higher *Languedoc*, he was alarmed by reiterated messages, that *Nismes*, unless his sudden presence prevented it, would be certainly lost, by reason of the divisions happened since the arrival of the Marquess of *Montbrun*, and his brothers there; who with many Artifices, and great diligence, had gained the populacy to them, and by seditions, and tumults, attempted to ingross the power of the whole Country, which the most eminent of the Nobility withstood, so that the matter was now come to a formal quarrel, which, but by his presence, was not appeasable; this made him hasten his instructions for the higher *Languedoc*, where he leaves the Marquess of *Lusignan*, with four companies of strangers, whom he quartered in *Castres*, and then posts away to *Nismes*; where at his arrival, he met first of all with the Baron *D' Aubais*, whom

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the lower *Languedoc* had deputed to the Court; and afterwards with *Montmartin*, the Deputy General, who brought with them their late acceptation of the peace, and were now come to have it ratified; *Mainald* the other Deputy General, *Du Candal*, and *Mailleray* were ſent to *Rochelle*, *Novillan* to *Montauban*, and *Madiane* to the higher *Languedoc*. *Montmartin* ſollicites the Duke of *Roban* to ratifie it at *Niſmes*, but by no means would he conſent to any particular ratification; but ſummoned an Aſſembly to be held at *Niſmes*, in which the Act of acceptance ſhould with a general conſent be confirmed on the fifteenth day of *March* following; deferring it to a longer term, that he might in the mean time hear from *Rochelle*; in which interval, *Montmartin* goes to the higher *Languedoc*, to haſten the Deputies of that Province to appear at the time appointed: But he found that at *Montauban* the peace was already accepted, and that, without expecting the Convocation, all the higher *Languedoc* had alſo ratified it, ſending their Deputies thither for forme only. The day before the Seſſion of the Aſſembly, the Duke was informed of the *Rochellers* confirmation of it alſo; ſo that there remaining only the lower *Languedoc*, and the *Sevenes* to do the like, the Aſſembly drew up a general Act of Ratification, which *Montmartin* and *Aubais* with the Deputies of the Duke of *Roban* carried to the Court; in this act only the Province of *Vivaretz* was not comprized, for that then they muſt ſurrender *Pouſin*, which our Deputies could not preſerve, becauſe they had no Commiſſion to make any demands concerning it before the peace was concluded; which was occaſioned by the negligence of the Deputy of that Province, that gave not notice of the taking of *Pouſin*, till many dayes after the departure of our Deputies towards the Court.

Thus was our peace concluded, where we muſt obſerve, that the King, out of fear of the ſupplies the Duke of *Soubize* had procured in *England*, taking occaſion from, and making very good uſe of the diſcontents of the Engliſh Ambaſſadours, ſent *Botts* into *England*, who ſo well managed all, that during his Embaſſy, which laſted but three weeks, he obtained a *Renvoy* of new Ambaſſadours thence to *France*, to conclude all things concerning the League, upon condition they ſhould enforce the Deputies of the Religion to accept a peace, upon very ambiguous and uncertain terms, eſpecially for the Town of *Rochelle*; who, in regard they had no hopes of any conſiderable relief from any other part, were of neceſſity obliged to be ſubmiſſive to them. The Deputies alſo of the particular Provinces, to ſhew that they of the Religion prefer'd the advancement of the grand deſign of the League before their own ſecurity, and to remove out of the way the pretence

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of the Kings Counſel for not ſigning it, while the War continued in *France*, did the like: But ſo reſolute was the demeanour of the Dutcheſs of *Rohan* toward the Engliſh Ambaſſadours, and the Cardinal *Richelieu*, to whom he proteſted, that unleſs the Ambaſſadours interpoſed in it, nothing ſhould be concluded, that, after ſhe had neatly broken a particular Treaty of the *Rochellers*, carried on by their Deputies, whom the Court-party, and the Duke of *Trimoüille* had drawn over to them, ſhe prevailed ſo far upon them all, that contrary to their former reſolutions, they intereſſed themſelves in it. This ſhelter'd her from the malice of her enemies, and the Deputies from any blame that might be imputed to them from their Communalties, and alſo obliged the King of *England*, ſeeing that the peace was accepted by his advice, to ſee it faithfully obſerved, to which his Ambaſſadours more ſtrictly bound themſelves by a formal Deed, ſigned, and ſealed with their own Arms; ſo that the concluſion of our peace was an univerſal joy both to the Court, and all Forraign Ambaſſadours there reſiding; but fifteen dayes after, when contrary to the ſolemn proteſtations made to them concerning that particular, they ſaw alſo this Treaty in the *Valtoline* was concluded by the King, & the King of *Spain*, they were clouded with no leſs diſcontent; eſpecially the Engliſh, when they perceived, that betrayed by deluſory hopes, they had been made the inſtruments, to oblige us to accept a peace ſo much to our diſadvantage.

Thus did the French, in couſening the Engliſh, and all the Princes intereſſed in the League, deceive themſelves alſo, having done nothing in this affair, that tended not to the advantage of *Spain*, the oppreſſion of the Allies of the Crown, and the great detriment of *France* it ſelf.

This is an account of the paſſages in the ſecond War; in the progreſs of which *Rohan* and *Soubize* were oppoſed by all the Grandees, even of the ſame Religion, whom either too much envy, or too little zeal, had alienated from their party, by all the Officers of the Crown, and a great part of the moſt eminent of every Town, whom their own covetouſneſs, and the allurements of the Courts had blinded; as for the Forraign Nations, the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* contributed their Ships, and *Germany* it ſelf ſtood in need of the aſſiſtance of others; ſo that it is no great wonder if a better peace could not be obtained; but yet was it much more advantageous than the former, foraſmuch as thoſe of the Religion preſerv'd their Fortifications, and got the King of *Englands* caution for the performance of it; God will aſſiſt us more powerfully, when our entire converſion to him makes us more capable of his favour.

The End of the third Book.

guſt both in words and geſtures, flies in great fury at the Cardinal, demanding of him, if he had been privy to this deſign, who told him that indeed he was not ignorant of it; the ſame demand makes he to the Chancellour, who for not daring to advow the action, loſt his ſeals a few dayes after, and was baniſhed the Court.

After this Arreſt of the Marſhal, was *Chaudebonne*, a Domeſtick of the Duke of *Anjou*'s ſent to the *Baſtille*, as alſo *Modene* and *Deagent* for their old faults: The Count of *Chaſteau-Roux*, and the *Chevalier de Jars* were alſo baniſhed the Court, ſuſpected for having ſo great a dependance on the Queen and the Count of *Soiſſons*. The Marſhal was ſent to the *Bois de Vincennes*, and all the places under his Command ſeized on, the moſt conſiderable of which was *Pont Saint Eſprit* in *Languedoc*: The report of this, made all the Princes and Great ones then at *Paris*, and in no little amazement at this accident, return to their attendance on the Court.

The Duke of *Anjou* perſiſts ſtill in his diſcontent, and is more averſe then ever from the marriage with the Princeſs of *Montpenſier*; But being yet deſtitute of any ſafe retreat, he is inforced to cover his diſpleaſure with a diſſembled accommodation with the Cardinal; and hunting often about *Fountainebleau*, reſolves one day to go towards *Fleury*, and dine with him, who then lay there; but having notice of the Dukes intentions, and that it was only to do him a diſcourteſie, departs thence before day, comes to *Fountainebleau* juſt as the Duke was riſing, and gave him his ſhirt.

This little diſcovery rouſes the Cardinal, and makes him very ſollicitous to provide againſt the ſtorms impending over him: he underſtands moreover, that all contrivances againſt his life come from *Savoy*, that the Abbot of *Scaglia* is the chief Inſtrument imployed in it; that the Queen made uſe of the *Dutcheſs* of *Chevreuſe* to animate the Duke of *Anjou* againſt him, that the Grand Prior irritated by a private diſcontent, is alſo one of the moſt violent againſt him, whereupon he reſolves to ruine thoſe he could, and to rid himſelf of the reſt the beſt he could.

This was the ground of his irreconcilable hatred againſt *Savoy*, of the ruin of the Grand Prior, *Chalais*, & the Dutch. of *Chevreuſe*. To compaſs his deſign, and prepare his way to the Government of *Britany*, which he coveted for its good Ports, and the conveniencies to execute this new office of Superintendent of the Sea, which he had introduced to ſucceed the ſuppreſſed Admiralty of *France*, he ſuggeſts to the King, that the Duke of *Vendoſme* grew too potent in *Britany*, conſidering his pretenſions to that

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Duchy in the right of his Wife, and the alliance he was entring into with the Duke of *Retz*, who was very powerful in that Province, and Master of two of the most considerable places in it; that the Grand Prior, the most zealous of all the Duke of *Anjou*'s Partisans, was his brother; that it might be one day a most secure retreat for the Duke, and of dangerous consequence to all *France*, considering its situation both so near to *England* and *Spain*; and that it would be expedient to provide timely preventions against such fatal accidents. This made the King resolve upon a journey thither, and to prepare himself for it, the whole Court removed back to *Paris*; but the better to conceal the intended voyage, they pretended only a journey to *Blois*; Nevertheless the Grand Prior rightly conceiving that a further progress was designed, offers to seek out his Brother, and bring him to justifie himself against all accusations whatever; provided he might be secured by an engagement of their words, not to be injured in his person: this he imparts to the Cardinal, who approves of his design, fils him with hopes, but no promise of security, advising him to procure that of the King, which he does, and so departs for *Britany*

The Duke of *Anjou* was very unwilling to this Journey, but finding no evasion for it, at length resolves upon it: All the Court go, except the Count of *Soissons*, and the Princess of *Montpensier*, whom the sickness of their Mothers stayed behind. The King being at *Blois*, thither came the Duke of *Vendosme* and his Brother: For two dayes together the King made them infinite caresses, which the third night he closes with an Arrest by the Captain of his guards, and then sent them both Prisoners to the Castle of *Amboise*.

After this was done, the Cardinal, who had all this while stayed at one of his houses near *Paris*, comes to *Blois*, openly commiserating the misfortune of the Grand Prior, but not his Brother, in which the whole Court sympathize, for that the one was beloved, but the other hated; and that which most moved their compassion, was, that the Grand Prior had most innocently been the Instrument of both his own and Brother's disaster. The resolution for the voyage into *Britany* is continued, and also to press the Duke of *Anjou* to the marriage, who still opposed it: But some of his Party, fearing lest at length he might recede from his resolution, advise him to quit the Court; Some counselling him to take the way of *Rochelle*, others that of *Metz*: Moreover they send to the Count of *Soissons* for *Balagny* and *Beyer*, two trusty persons, the one to be his conductor towards *Rochelle*, if they took that way, and the other to treat with his Uncle the Duke

Duke of *Villars* Governor of *Havre*, that they might ſecure that Port to receive the forraign ſuccours promiſed them. But as 'tis uſual in all dangerous enterprizes, mens hearts failing them, inſtead of executing their deſigns, they raiſe difficulties to overthrow them, ſo hapned it in this; For inſtead of going themſelves, they ſent a Gentleman belonging to *Chalais*, to the Duke of *Valetté* to know whether he would receive the diſcontents, and by that means gave him opportunity to evade a buſineſs, in which, had they ſurprized him, he had without reſiſtance been engaged; For conceiving by this meſſage that they were not well reſolved, he ſent them word, that the place belonging to his Father the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, he muſt firſt ſend to know his pleaſure, before he could return them any other anſwer: This very well pleaſed thoſe that diſſwaded his departure, eſpecially *Chalais* who was of a mild temper, and naturally averſe from faction; to which his friends had never inclined him, had not his ſpirit been too flexible to withſtand their ſolicitations; ſo that ſeeing the trouble and danger ſtill increaſe, he grew very deſirous to diſ-entangle himſelf of the affair, and to that end, intreats the *Commandeur de Valencé* to aſſure the Cardinal, that he would renounce the Duke of *Anjou*'s Intereſts, and become his ſervant; The Cardinal who deſired nothing more, receives and cajoles him ſo handſomly, that he engages him by promiſe, to diſcover all the Dukes deſigns to him: This laſted a few dayes; but the inconſtancy of his humour, which yet was nothing miſcheivous, hurrying him to another change; he repents of his promiſe, will diſcover nothing, and raccomodes himſelf with the Duke of *Anjou*; requeſting the *Commandeur* to revoke the promiſe he had given the Cardinal in his behalf, who excuſes himſelf of the employment, foretelling him, that it was the next way to a Priſon or worſe; But *Chalais* notwithſtanding, perſiſting in his reſolutions, got ſome other to carry his intentions to the Cardinal, who nothing reliſhed the meſſage, which recalled to his mind the buſineſs of *Fleury*, and gave him ſome Jealouſies that it was the Dutcheſs of *Chevreuſe* that had regained him, and therefore he thought it now time to diſpatch him: Wherefore he cauſes him to be arreſted and ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Nantes*; and Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Britany* were appointed for his trial; at which he confeſſes, and accuſes, what, and whom they pleaſe; thinking by that means (being little verſed in criminal proceedings) to ſave himſelf, confirms alſo ſome flying reports of his engagement to kill the King who was helping him to bed; but he was condemned and executed for this only, that being a Domeſtick of the Duke of *Anjou*'s, he had adviſed his Maſter to retire from the

Court;

Court: But after all theſe weakneſſes, ſeeing how ineffectual they had been to ſave his life, he dyed with much courage and conſtancy; At the ſame time alſo was *Marcillac* apprehended, and deveſted of his Government of *Sommieres* in *Languedoc*; *Troncon* and *Sauveterre* were alſo baniſhed the Court, for preſuming to diſſwade the King from the intended marriage: To which the Duke of *Anjou*, during thoſe procedures, was anew urged; and his Favourites being already won, the Duke upon hopes of the Marſhal *d' Ornano's*, and *Chalais* liberty, at length reſolves upon it, and falling from one extremity to another, ſuddenly and privately marries the Princeſs of *Montpenſier*, (who was purpoſely ſent for from *Paris* with a gallant train) loves and careſſes her, and now cannot live without her. Herenpon his Appanage was aſſigned him, to wit, the Dutchyes of *Orleans* and *Chartres* (wherefore for the future we ſhall call him the Duke of *Orleans*) together with the Earldom of *Blois*; great in appearance, but ſeated in the heart of *France*, without any good place within the whole circuit of it, and of a very ſmall revenue, his chiefeſt aſſignations for the maintenance of his houſe being out of the Treaſury, that ſo they might at pleaſure be taken from him.

The marriage thus conſummated, they proceed notwithſtanding to the execution of *Chalais*, inquiring alſo after informations againſt the Duke of *Vendoſme*, eſpecially whether he held not Intelligence with the Duke of *Soubize*, during the war in the year 1625. Commiſſioners alſo were appointed for the trial of the Duke, and his Brother the Grand Prior; but the one objecting the Priviledge of his Peerage, and the other of his Croſs of *Malta*, they were at laſt ſent to the *Bois de Vincennes*, without any further proceedings againſt them; only the Dukes houſes in *Britany* were razed, and he was deprived of his Government of that Province, which was conferred on the Marſhal *Themines*. 'Twas thought the reaſon that diverted the Cardinal from the deſign he had upon this Government, was, that having placed into *Breſt*, one of the faireſt and ſecureſt Ports of all *France*, one *Sourdeac*, a creature of his own, out of hopes to ſecure it to himſelf; the King without his privity, conferred that command upon a Souldier of mean quality, which vexed him ſo, that abandoning all future thoughts of the other, he reſolved upon the purchaſe of *Hauvre de Grace* in *Normandy*.

Upon the Confeſſion of *Chalais*, Meſſengers were alſo ſent to *Verger*, a Houſe of the Prince of *Guymenés* to confine the Dutcheſs of *Chevreuſe* there, but ſhe eſcaped that confinement by her departure before to *Paris*, where being informed of what had paſſed, ſhe recovered, by great journies to *Lorrain*.

The

about the Town to assemble the Inhabitants for a new Election; some refuse to stir, others go, but without any commotion in the Town were obliged to retire again.

Now the new Consuls enter not into their Office, till a moneth after the Election; so that the Court had leasure to send a Prohibition to those that were elected, forbidding them to meddle with the Office, and enjoyning the old ones to continue the exercise of it, till it were otherwise ordered: notwithstanding which, when the first day of the year was come, the Baron *d' Aubais*, *Genoyer*, *Saguier*, and *Pelissiere*, according to the usual manner took possession of the Consulate; where we shall leave them in repose, to look further back upon the affairs, and view their propensity to new imbroylments.

When the Peace was concluded in the year *1626*, it was conceived, that the Cardinal *Richelieu*'s thoughts would be wholly bent on forraign affairs, of which he gave some semblant evidence: The Prince of *Piedmont*, then at Court, was nominated Leiutenant-General of the Kings Armies for forraign Parts; then hoped the *Venetian* Ambassadours, they should now see *Italy* freed from the *Spanish* oppression; the *English* that they would recover the *Palatinate*; and preparations were making (but in words only) for all these designs; of the reality of which if any one seemed to doubt, it was confirmed by a thousand oaths: But when a few dayes after the signing of the Peace with those of the Religion, unknown to all the Confederates, was signed also that of *France* with *Spain*; then brake forth complaints and discontents of the one side, seconded by excuses of the other, every one casting the blame upon another, especially upon *Fargis* Ambassadour in *Spain*, whose Wife, as if he had exceeded the limits of his Commission, was made to sue out his Pardon: but these pretences could not salve the distempers of the Confederates interessed in the League, which some of them afterwards upon occasions did discover.

The cause of this sudden and unexpected peace, was attributed to a desire the Cardinal had to live some time in quiet, that he might the better secure his own greatness. and that nothing might obstruct his pursuit of the design against *Rochelle*, where he intended to do great matters; or else to some Jealousie he had conceived of a new party, to be raised in *France*, under the command of the Duke *Anjou* to ruin him; but whether it was the one, or the other, or both together, certainly the occasion of these ensuing factions, gave him fair colours for any design.

The Queen Mother desirous to marry the Duke of *Anjou*, would needs consummate the Match, designed by *Henry* the great be-

tween

tween him and the Princeſs of *Montpenſier*, which he was abſolutely averſe from; whether this averſion proceeded from himſelf, or the ſuggeſtions of others, not deſirous this treaty ſhould take effect; which encouraged many to joyn with him. But the Prince of *Condé*, and his Wife, whom this marriage threatned with a remove ſo many degrees from the Crown, as the Duke of *Anjou* ſhould have Sons; The Count of *Soiſſons* for the ſame reaſon, and out of hopes he had to marry that Princeſs himſelf: The Duke of *Longueville* out of Jealouſie of the Duke of *Guiſe*, whoſe Sons were all Brothers to the Princeſs *Montpenſier*; The Duke of *Vendoſme* upon the ſame conſideration, to which his Brother the Grand Prior of *France* added his diſcontents againſt the Cardinal, who had deluded him with promiſes of the Admiralty of *France*, which afterwards under another title, he reſerved to himſelf; many of the chief Nobility out of particular Intereſts; The Queen who feared the others fertility would prejudice her in the King her Husbands and his Subjects affections; and the King himſelf induced by ſeveral apprehenſions, oppoſed it: See here very conſiderable obſtacles to be removed.

Nevertheleſs the Queen-Mother, who with good reaſon grounded on her own, & the Intereſt of the State, was very zealous for this marriage, deſpairs not, but begins her deſign with an attempt to gain the Colonel *d' Ornano*, who was formerly the Duke of *Anjou*'s Governour, and continuing ſtill his Favourite had a great influence on him: To this end, ſhe gets him made Marſhal of *France*; but whatever promiſes theſe honours extracted from him, they quickly vaniſhed, as ſoon as he ſaw the Princeſs of *Conde*, whoſe beauty and attractions raiſed in him ſo much love and vanity, as totally blinded him; ſo that being careſſed and ſued to of all hands, he loſt himſelf in that Maze of felicity: the better to carry on his own deſigns with her, he pretends to the Queen-Mother that his ſervices are wholly bent to effect her deſires, and procure her contentment, when really the charms of that Princeſs had drawn him entirely to her devotion; 'Twas ſhe alſo governed the Queen, propoſing to her the diſreſpect and contempt the Children of the Duke of *Anjou* would bring upon her; and that if he muſt needs be married, her Siſter the *Infanta* of *Spain* would be a more convenient match for him: But all this while this Princeſs hoped that having clearly gained the Marſhall *d' Ornano* to her aſſiſtance, ſhe ſhould in the depth of this Labyrinth find out a way to conduct her own Daughter to the Dukes bed. See here three Parties in one, the Queens, and thoſe of the two Princes of the blood, all which, though for different reaſons, and which they concealed the one from the other, conſpire to impede this match:

match; and so strenuously prosecute their desires, that the Duke of *Anjou* absolutely refused her.

At the same time there hapned a private quarrel which was seconded by many other: *Chalais* Master of the *Wardrobe*, having in a Duel slain *Pontgibault*, younger Brother to *Ludde*, Nephew to the Marshall *Schomberg*, and a Favourite of the Duke *d' Elbeuf*, caused a great division in the Court; the Duke of *Anjou*, the Count of *Soissons*, and the *Grand Prior*, undertook the protection of *Chalais*; the Duke *d' Elbeuf*, with the whole family of *Guise* (except the Duke *de Chevreuse*) favoured the House of *Ludde*; this division lasted all the Winter; at length, *Chalais* having obtained his Pardon, and sensible of his obligations to his Protectors, gave himself up wholly to their Interests, and was of great use to continue the Duke of *Anjou* in his obstinacy against the marriage with the Princess *Montpensier*; The Princess of *Condé* also diffident of the sufficiency of her power with the Queen, perswades her to engage the Dutchess of *Chevreuse* in her party, for that her own Interests lying with the other Party, she feared lest otherwise she should divert her: But her will was easily brought to a compliance with the Queens; the sense of her great obligations to her, making her promise to sacrifice all her Interests to her commands and service. On the other side, the Queen-Mother passionately prosecutes the accomplishment of the Marriage; especially the Cardinal, hoping that to effect it against so many and great oppositions, would enlarge the Princess of *Monepensiers* obligations to him so, that his power would suffer no diminution, though misfortune should alien even the Kings affections from him; the Princess of *Conti*, Sister to the Duke of *Guise*, and all their family bestir themselves mainly to the same end, and by the means of the Duke *d' Elbeuf*, who was a Friend of *Baradas* the Kings Favourite, or else of some other persons who engaged themselves in it, the King was also brought about to relish the match too, out of an apprehension infused to him, that those three factions pretended only a rupture of the marriage, whereas, in effect, their design had no other aim but his ruin, to clap him into a Monastery, and marry the Duke of *Anjou* to the Queen: This impression made him now as zealously promote, as he had formerly opposed the marriage; earnestly importuning his Brother, and sending to the Marshall *d' Ornano*, who returned large protestations of obedience to his commands, but that as yet he could not discover any disposition in the Duke for it: Thus for some time was the Marshall careffed and sued to by all parties.

In the mean while, the opposite Party strengthen themselves with

with a ſupply of all ſuch as hated the Cardinal, eſpecially the Duke of *Savoy*, who, (deſirous to repay him the ill office he had lately received by the concluſion of the peace with *Spain*, which expoſed him to the inconvenience of a war with *Genoa*, and the hatred of *Spain*,) by his Ambaſſador the Abbot of *Scaglia*, propoſes to the Duke a match with the Princeſs of *Mantua*, and by the ſame inſtrument inſtigates him to rid himſelf of the Cardinal, as the only obſtacle to all his deſigns; but the Prince of *Condé*, and the Princeſs his Wife, ſeeing the King varied in his, had not courage enough to perſevere in their reſolutions for the Party they had undertaken, though they were moſt engaged to prevent the marriage; but indeed ſo great a propenſity was there in their natures to treachery and falſhood, that without any difficulty was this change wrought in them: the one hoping to gain a piece of Land, called *Dun-le-roy*, and was a part of the Crown-land, to joyn it to his Dutchy of *Chaſteau-Roux*; and the other, that ſhe might not totally leave the Court the ſeat of her pleaſures and contents; and the better to act their parts, the Prince comes to *Valery*, not far from *Fountainebleau* where the King then was; whither the Princeſs alſo makes ſeveral journies; after which the Marqueſs of *Breqé* Brother-in-law to the Cardinal, makes three voyages thither alſo, but very privately; to whom, as 'tis ſaid he gave an account of all paſſages, adding to, rather then curtailing the relation of any particular, according to the cuſtom of all Informers, that by ſuch means hope to inhance the price of their diſcoveries.

About this time were intercepted ſeveral packets going into *Spain* and *Savoy*, which occaſioned the ſecuring of the Marſhal *d' Ornano*, who was yet ſomewhat more ceremoniouſly dealt withall then ordinary, in regard of his Maſter: The King one afternoon commands the Regiment of his guards into the *Baſſe* Court at *Fountainebleau*, under pretence of exerciſing before the Queens; but inſtead of returning to their quarters, they poſſeſſe themſelves of all the advenues of the village, which was alſo ſurrounded by the Cavalry: And the King going very early to bed, not long after roſe again, ſent for the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal, the Chancellour, and the Marſhall *Schomberg*, with whom he reſolved upon the Arreſt; which was executed by the Captain of the Guard.

Whereupon the King ſent inſtantly for the Duke of *Anjou*, to let him know that the reaſon of his impriſonment was, becauſe he knew that inſtead of ſerving him according to his duty, the Marſhall infuſed bad Counſels into him: at which the Duke was highly diſpleaſed, and to as little purpoſe diſcovered he his diſ-

guſt

The voyage of *Britany* having thus ſucceeded, the King returns to *Paris*, where the Count of *Soiſſons* durſt not expect his arrival, but grown wiſe by the misfortune of others, travels into *Italy*, where the Court-hatred purſued and perſecuted him; For, Letters were ſent to *Bethune* Embaſſadour extraordinary for the King at *Rome*, that he ſhould take care the title of *Highneſs* was not given him; to which *Bethune* having no other paſſion then for his Maſters ſervice, anſwers, that he would never be guilty of ſuch a crime, but that if the Count of *Soiſſons* had offended the King, he ought to puniſh him in *France*, and not in that which would ſo much intrench upon the honour of the Crown; and that he would rather quit his employment, then do ſuch a diſſervice both to his Maſter and Family.

When the Court came to *Paris*, not a word was ſpoken of the Dutcheſs of *Chevreuſe* her removal; *Sardigny* and *Boneil* were confined to their own houſes, one being accuſed for adviſing the Count of *Soiſſons* to leave *France*, the other for his too great propenſity to the Queens ſervice. Attempts were made alſo to take the *Chevalier de Jars*, which having notice of, he prevented by his flight into *England*: About this time alſo the Marſhal *d'Ornano* died of the Stone, whoſe death occaſioned ſeveral diſcourſes.

We will now leave the Duke of *Orleans* to comfort himſelf with the embraces of his new Wife, for the loſſes and misfortunes of his ſervants; and the Cardinal to refreſh himſelf awhile, after having diſſipated ſo thick, and menacing a cloud, as hovered over his head, to come to the affairs of *England*; whither the Abbot *Scaglia*, four moneths before, was gone in quality of Ambaſſadour extraordinary, and carried together with his Maſters, his own particular paſſions, both being unanimouſly bent to ſpare nothing, that might purchaſe them a ſound revenge upon the Cardinal. There he found the Duke of *Buckingham* of the ſame humour, whom he encouraged to procure the baniſhment of all the *French* attending on the Queen of great *Britany*, for that they cheriſhed their Miſtreſs in ſome froward humours, which many times occaſioned differences between the King and her, alledging that *Spain*, *France*, and *Savoy* would be ſufficient preſidents to warrant the action; recounts the numerous factions and diſcontents he had left in *France*, the ill uſage of thoſe of the Religion, in whoſe Intereſts the King himſelf was engaged, as being ſurety for the obſervance of the laſt treaty of peace; and aſſures him of his Maſter the Duke of *Savoyes* complyance and fidelity upon all occaſions; All theſe perſwaſions joyned with the urgent ſollicitations of the Duke of *Soubize*, in the behalf of thoſe of the Religion, moved the Duke of *Buckingham* to perſwade the King his Maſter private-

ly to ſend a Gentleman to the Duke of *Rohan* to inform him of his deep reſentments that thoſe of the Religion had by his means and intervention been deceived, that he now ſaw clearly, that inſtead of reſtoring *Rochelle* to its liberty, preparations were making to oppreſs it, and that he deſired to know alſo what perſecutions they ſuffered in *Languedoc*; that it was expedient they ſhould addreſs their complaints to him, that, being Caution for the laſt peace, he might have juſt occaſion to demand reparation for the infractions of it, which if it was refuſed, he proteſted that he would employ the whole ſtrength of all his dominions, and hazard alſo his own perſon to obtain an exact and punctual obſervation of the Edict for peace: But that ſince it was fitting, for the better Juſtification of his procedures, to begin with ſuch formalities, he deſires that he would ſend him over a Gentleman, by whom he might be fully informed and directed how to proceed.

The Duke who ſaw no humane means to preſerve *Rochelle* but by relief from *England*, received this Meſſage with all reſpect and honour; and informed the Gentleman, that the Communalties of the Religion could not write to the King his Maſter neither in General, nor in particular without being detected, which would ruine the affair in its birth, that he would undertake that office for them all, by ſending a Gentleman with a Letter, to implore that aſſiſtance of him, he was obliged to give them; who moreover ſhould be fully inſtructed with the particular in obſervations of the peace, and what he thought was the moſt convenient courſe to be taken in reference to the war; With this anſwer the Gentleman returned, and a few dayes after, according to his promiſe, the Duke diſpatcht St. *Blancart* with orders to go by the way of *Rochelle*, to ſee in what condition was the Citadel of Saint *Martin* in the Iſle of *Ré*; which he exactly well performed, and after his arrival in *England*, obtained a concluſion of a war for our relief.

In the mean while the Duke of *Buckingham* cauſes all the Queens *French* Servants (except a Chaplain) to be caſhiered, which made ſo great a noiſe in *France*, that the Marſhall *Baſſompiere* was ſent Embaſſadour extraordinary into *England* to compoſe the affair, and returned thence with ſatisfaction correſpondent to his inſtructions and intentions: But the two Favourites accord not at all; he of *France* cauſes the Marſhal, being no creature of his to be diſowned, and the other procures a diſſolution of the treaty.

Nor long before, the taking of ſome *Normande* ſhips by the *Engliſh*, gave another occaſion of difference; The Parliament of *Roüen* hereupon not receiving that ſpeedy ſatisfaction they expected, laid an *Embargo* upon all *Engliſh* Veſſels in all their Ports, and

and the *Engliſh* upon the reciprocal and fruitleſs complaints of both Parties, made Prize of all the *French* they met with.

The *Duke* of *Buckingham*, who in all theſe affairs acted nothing out of affection to religion, or regard to his Maſters honour, but only to ſatisfie his paſſion for ſome fooliſh Amours of his in *France*, upon theſe two occaſions grounds a requeſt to be ſent Embaſſadour to *France*; Thus from the petty follies of the Court, ſprings the diſturbance of whole Kingdoms, moſt of the miſcheifs that infeſt them flowing from the particular Intereſts of Favourites, who trampling Juſtice under their feet, ſubvert all good policy, change the good Maximes of the State, and make their Maſters but properties to ſupport their greatneſs, wealth and revenge.

The Duke of *Rohan* jealous of this Embaſſie, ſent one of his Gentlemen very privately to *Paris*, to obſerve the actions of *Buckingham*, and to encourage him in his former reſolution: But the King would not admit of his Embaſſie, ſo that his deſign of Love being fruſtrated, he now followes the dictates of his rage, and ſince he could not ſee the object of his paſſion, reſolves to ſhew the King his power, preparing all things for the war, in which, by his preſent care and aſſiduity, he redeems his former negligence and remiſneſs; and that he might omit nothing that might further his deſign, the Lord *Montague* is ſent into *Savoy*, and thence to the Duke of *Rohan*, where arriving very privately, he delivers his Credentials from the King, and from *Buckingham*, in whoſe names he aſſures him of the great preparations in *England* for our aſſiſtance, to wit, of thirty thouſand men to be diſpoſed into three ſeveral Fleets, the firſt deſigned for the Iſle of *Re*, the ſecond coming up the river of *Bourdeaux* to land in *Guienne*, and the third in *Normandy*, to give the King a ſound diverſion there, whil'ſt he ſhould be buſied in *Guienne*; that the Rivers of *Loire*, *Seine*, and the *Garonne* ſhould with good Frigots be kept cloſely blocked; that the Duke of *Savoy* would make an invaſion either upon *Dauphine* or *Provence*, and moreover promiſed the Duke of *Rohan* five hundred auxiliary horſe, and the Duke of *Chevreuſe* alſo the like number; that his deſire was, that with thoſe thouſand horſe, and the foot he ſhould levy in *Languedoc*, he would march to *Montauban*, to rally thoſe of the Religion in *Guienne*, and joyn with the *Engliſh* Army, that ſhould make its deſcent by the River of *Bourdeaux*: To which he replyed, that immediately upon the entry of the *Engliſh* into *France*, and not before, he would engage himſelf to take arms, and procure the lower *Languedoc*, the *Sevenes*, *Rouergue*, and a part of the higher *Languedoc* to declare, and upon his own ſcore to raiſe four thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe to march to *Montauban*;

and moreover, if he had half the Cavalry promiſed him, he would undertake to joyn the *Engliſh* Army in any part of *Guienne* whatſoever.

Mountague returned ſatisfied with this anſwer, and the Duke of *Rohan* began his preparations, which yet he could not make with that ſecreſie, but that the Court had ſoon an inckling of them; ſo that his Mother and Siſter had been made Priſoners, had they not ſought their ſafety by flying to *Rochelle*, where they did eminently contribute to the defeating of the King's deſigns there; and as all contrivances againſt him, were clandeſtine and underhand, ſo, for his part did he cheriſh thoſe of the Religion in their diſcontens, eſpecially concerning the Conſulates of *Niſmes* and *Alets*, whoſe accomodations he prevented, ſo that he preſerved thoſe Corporations in a firm reſolution to dare all extremities, rather then ſuffer the leaſt diminution of their Priviledges, and all the reſt in a condition to adhere to them; And on the other ſide, the Court faction having intereſſed the Royal authority in the concern of thoſe Conſulates, would not in the leaſt degree recede from their purpoſes.

When things were in this poſture, about the twentieth of *July* comes the Duke of *Buckingham* into the Rode of *Rochelle*, with a brave Armado, in which were ten thouſand men, with ſtore of Canon, and ammunition for war, with all ſorts of Inſtruments for Pioneers: which when the *Rochellers* ſaw, inſtead of receiving him whom they had ſo impatiently expected, they ſhut their gates and havens againſt him, to prevent the arrival of any one from him, to impart his Commiſſion to them; for the Maior and thoſe in authority were corrupted by the Court Party, and the poor people had neither ſtrength, nor courage to admit him: So that *Soubize* was fain to go on ſhore in a Shalloup, and landing near to one of the Town-Gates with one of the King of *Englands* Secretaries, his Mother went ſtraight to another, whither when the Duke was alſo come, ſhe went forth and drew him in by the arm, at which the People much rejoyced, and in great troops followed him to his lodging: When he was thus gotten in, he aſſembled the Councel of the Town, to whom the Secretary declared the ſubſtance of his Meſſage after this manner; That the Duke of *Buckingham* had ſent him to let them know, that by the command of the King his Maſter, he was now come in ſight of them with a Gallant Army, ready to land where occaſion ſhould require; that that which induced his King to this, was his certain knowledge that the Counſel of *France*, (corrupted by the houſe of *Auſtria*) conſpired the ruine of all Chriſtendom; which manifeſtly appeared in the affairs of *Germany*, which they have entirely ruined, eſ-

eſpecially by that permiſſion was given to Count *Mansfields* Army to paſs through *France*, which, as he was ready to march, was refuſed him, and was the deſtruction of that, and conſequently of the *German* Army, in which twelve thouſand *Engliſh* periſhed by famine; that ſince the King his Maſter had by his Ambaſſadours mediated a compoſing of the late War againſt thoſe of the Religion, and engaged himſelf for the faithful obſervation of the Articles of the Treaty, (and that too with the conſent of the King of *France*) in which, thoſe of the Religion had ſubmitted to conditions too harſh for their preſent eſtate to bear; he had ſeen their Confederates of *Italy* deſerted, and the Armies deſigned for their defence, employed to block up their Garriſons, and to reduce this Town to a Conſumption by Famine, the continual cries of which place, and of the whole body of the Reformed party, having by the mediation of the Dukes of *Rohan* and *Soubize*, reached his eares, and taking notice of the vaſt preparations at Sea, cloſely to begirt this Town, and that to that end, by an unrepreſidented act of injuſtice, one hundred and twenty *Engliſh* ſhips, with all their Merchandize, Mariners, and Artillery, were ſeized on in time of peace; that for theſe, and many other reaſons, compaſſionating their miſeries, and heavy preſſures, his promiſe alſo to ſee the Articles agreed on, performed, obliging him, he now offer'd them a powerful aſſiſtance both by Sea and Land, in caſe they will accept of it, and engage in the War with him, proteſting not to proſecute any particular pretenſion or intereſt whatſoever, ſave only what was accorded to thoſe of the Religion; for which he became Caution: That in caſe the Town refuſe this offer, the Duke ſolemnly proteſts before God, and the world, that he holds his Maſter fully abſolved of all obligations both of Conſcience, and Honour; and that for his part, he ſhall diſpoſe himſelf to execute the reſt of the commands impoſed on him by his Maſter, and that he deſires their clear and ſpeedy anſwer: This Harangue much moved the people, who ſaw no other re-ſourſe, nor hopes of deliverance then from the *Engliſh* Arms; yet ſo prevalent was the faction of thoſe that endeavoured the deſtruction of that poor, and miſerable Town, that with much difficulty were they induced to reſolve on any thing; at length they ſent their Deputies to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to give the King of *England* thanks for the care he took of them, and withall to let him know, that having heard, and well conſidered of his Meſſage, repreſenting his Majeſties good intentions to all the Reformed in *France*, of whom they were but a part; that being bound by their Oath of Union to act nothing but by a general and unanimous conſent, they conceived their anſwer would be much firmer, and more acceptable to the

King, if it were accompanied with that of the Duke of *Rohan*, and the reſt of the Reformed party, towards whom they were now ſending with all ſpeed; beſeeching the Duke of *Buckingham* favourably to interpret this Protraction of the demanded junction, and be a means that it may not be diſpleaſing to the King of great *Britain*. In the mean time they would addreſs their prayers, and vowes to God for the proſperous progreſs of his Arms to a plenary execution of the good, and holy intentions of his Majeſty.

This anſwer had like to have drawn great prejudice on them of all hands; from the *Engliſh*, to ſee their great irreſolution, and that they ſhould need a ſpur, who could find no ſafety but in their courage, and audacity; from thoſe of the Religion, inaſmuch as they demanded their advice, not aſſiſtance: Thus in affairs of great conſequence, Councels accompanied with too much circumſpection, are attended on by no leſs dangers; for they diſcover ſo much fear, as raiſes the courages of enemies, and depreſſes thoſe of friends: The Duke of *Soubize* ſent the Duke of *Buckingham* a particular account of this deputation, and anſwer, by *Saint Blancarte*, and withall, an abſolute aſſurance of the Town of *Rochelle*.

It is now to be obſerved, that when *Soubize* left the Fleet, to know the intentions of the *Rochellers*, two things were agreed on between him, and *Buckingham*: Firſt, that the firſt deſcent ſhould be in the Iſle of *Oleron*, both for the facility of it, there being not above twelve hundred ſouldiers to oppoſe them, nor any fortreſs able to make eight dayes reſiſtance; and alſo for the conveniencies of the place, abounding in corn, and wine, commodious for the maintenance of their Souldiers and Mariners, eaſie to be kept, and that once taken, and the *Engliſh* Veſſels guarding the Sea, would in ſhort time reduce the Iſle of *Ré* to great extremities; whereas if they made their firſt attempt on the other, which was well ſtored with ſouldiers, ſufficiently fortified to make a good oppoſition, the ſucceſs of the attempt would be full of hazard, and the conqueſt of uncertainty; the other was not to attempt any thing before the Duke of *Soubize* his return: But when *Saint Blancart* came there to acquaint the Duke of *Buckingham* with the iſſue of his negotiation in *Rochelle*, he found the deſign varied, a diſcent into the Iſle of *Ré* determined, and ready to be executed, which the Duke of *Buckingham* alſo, not expecting *Soubize* his return, haſtens; whether it was, that he feared leſt *Toiras*, who had already three thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe in the Iſland, ſhould grow too ſtrong, many of the Nobility, and great numbers of ſouldiers flocking thither from all parts; or that he was loth

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Soubize ſhould participate of the honour of the action. At this diſcent there was a ſmart and gallant combate, the *Engliſh*, like a deluge, over-whelming all that oppoſed them, which greatly terrified the *Romaniſts*; and had he cloſely purſued the victory, and gone directly to the Fort, according to the advice of the Duke of *Soubize*, who was by that time gotten thither, he had found it empty both of proviſions and ſouldiers; but the loſs of five dayes idly trifled away, gave *Toiras* leiſure to rally his ſcattered men, and to carry all the proviſions, could be found in the Village, up to the Fort.

This only fault drew after it many miſchiefs on the reformed party; in this fight was ſlain *Saint Blancart*, (who came thither ſoon enough to land the ſecond man) deſervedly lamented by his party, being a young man, whoſe piety, courage, and prudence emulouſly ſtrove to renown him.

This diſcent of the *Engliſh* cauſed great commotions at the Court, and, had a ſudden taking of the Fort ſucceeded it, probably a great alteration of affairs had followed: For the ſickneſs, the King, about the ſame time, was ſurpriſed with, the general diſcontent of the Nobility at the Cardinals favour; the jealouſie of thoſe were but lately engaged with the Duke of *Orleans*; the abode of the *Count* of *Soiſſons* in *Piedmont*, and the Duke of *Savoy's* known deſires of revenge, for his deſertion by the *French*, were ſufficient grounds for more than ordinary jealouſies; and every one impatiently expected to know the fate of the Fort, that they might declare their affections; which the King well knowing, omitted nothing for its relief; fed the Town of *Rochelle* with hopes of an accommodation, provided they joyned not with the *Engliſh*, eſſayed to work upon the Duke of *Rohan* with offers of large ſums of money, and diſperſed Meſſengers to all the Reformed Towns, to render odious the diſcent of the *Engliſh*, and to draw from them ſuch Declarations as might ſecure him againſt the fear of their conjunction with them; and prevailed with *Montauban* and *Caſtres* to ſend Deputies to the other Corporations to diſſwade them from it, and by this Argument, that *Rochelle* had not joyned with them.

The Duke of *Rohan*, who for a long while before had been acquainted with the Artifices of the Court, and particularly knew their *Partiſans* in every Town, fore-ſeeing well that he could not hinder ſuch Declarations, adviſes them to inſert in them the general clauſe, under the benefit of the Edicts, and all other conceſſions, that ſo he might in convenient ſeaſon diſengage them again, and with hopes of good news from *Rochelle*, engages them not to deſert that Town. At length come letters thence, but ſuch, whoſe con-

contents answered not his desires; nevertheless he is obliged to make use of them; but how to extract any advantage our of them, was no small difficulty: If he should send them to every Town, they might occasion divers resolutions to be taken up by them, and possibly contrary the one to the other, which must need cause great divisions; if before he took up Arms, he should convoque an Assembly, none of the Corporations would dare send their Deputies, for fear of rendring themselves criminal, which would yet be a greater evil; he resolves therefore to conceal the letters he had received, & at the same time to write severally to all the principal Communalties of the *Sevenes*, (and unknown the one to the other, nor mentioning any Assembly) to send their Deputies to him to *Nismes*, to whom he had things to impart that much concerned them in particular; the same desire sent he to *Vsez*; hoping that when he had drawn the Provinces of the lower *Languedoc*, and the *Sevenes* to any good resolution, the rest of the Reformed party, or at least the greatest part of them, would easily follow their example. This invention succeeded well; for all the Deputies came at the time and place prefixed; but the Commission of the Deputies of *Vsez*, being not large enough, and fearing some treachery from that Town, he carried all the Deputies thither, and there formed an Assembly, not doubting, by his presence, to confirm them to his party; this done, he recounts all the breaches of faith during the first War; all the infractions of the Edict of peace, made before *Montpellier*, (which occasioned the loss of that Town) the continuation of the siege of *Rochelle*; the detention of their goods, and the injust and cruel execution of many innocent persons, which was the cause of the second; which being composed by the intervention of the King of great *Britain*'s Ambassadours, they to obtain a condiscension of those of the Religion to the Kings proposals, with the Kings consent, and in the name of the King their Master, became Caution for the performance of the Articles, which being no better observed than the former, the danger of *Rochelle* daily increasing by straitning their Port; the loss of their Franchises, and liberty of Commerce, by the repairing, instead of the promised razing of the Fort *Lewis*; by the fortifying the Islands, and storing them with Ammunition, and other provisions; by the building, collecting, and arming so many ships; by maintaining so many neighbouring Garrisons; by so many attempts upon the Town; by the subversion of the priviledges of *Nismes*, and *Alets*, depriving them of their liberty of electing Consuls; by the manifold infringement of the Edicts in all points, and places, and towards all persons; that the consideration of all these things had obliged him to remonstrate their con-

condition to the King of great *Britain*, to implore him, according to his Royal promiſes, to afford us ſome redreſs of our grievances; which ſo prevailed upon him, that after a fruitleſs tryal of all fair means, he had at length reſolved openly to aſſiſt us, and to that end had ſent the Duke of *Buckingham* with a gallant Army, whoſe beginnings were very proſperous; But that it was upon condition, that the lower *Languedoc* ſhould joyn with his forces, and not liſten to any but a General Treaty, and with the conſent of the ſaid King, and of the whole body of the Reformed Party within this Kingdom; adding moreover that the Town of *Rochelle* would not conclude any thing without them: And, with that, ſhewed them the Letters he had thence, telling them, that, conſidering the importance of the affair, he had thought it neceſſary to aſſemble the two Provinces of the *Sevenes*, and the lower *Langnedoc*, that there might be a perfect harmony in their reſolutions, which would never have been, had he ſent thoſe Letters to all the Towns ſeverally; that, moreover, he could not in time of peace convoque an General Aſſembly, whoſe only ſummons would then have proved its prevention: but that he was aſſured that the reſolutions of thoſe two Provinces would charm all the reſt to an imitation: wherefore he conjured them to a ſerious conſideration of the premiſes, aſſuring them of his ſtrict and perpetual adherence to them.

Whereupon they decreed that the Duke of *Rohan* ſhould be deſired to reſume his charge of General of the Reformed Party, to make leavies of Souldiers and all other things he ſhould conceive conducible to their good; that he be deſired to form, as ſoon as may be a General Aſſembly, to continue during the war, for the direction and management of their affairs, that the oath of Union be renewed, with the addition of their Junction with the King of great *Britains* forces, and alſo of all other Princes, Lords and Gentlemen, that for the maintenance of this cauſe have, or for the future ſhall raiſe arms, with a ſubjunction of a promiſe not to accept of any particular peace, nor to conſent or hearken to any treaty, but general, and with the approbation of the whole body of the Reformed Party, and of thoſe Princes with whom they are, or ſhall be united.

This being done, they all depart: and *Rohan* gives out his Commiſſions, and, that he might not diſguſt the People, raiſes and arms his men at his own expence, appointing a day to make ſome attempts upon ſeveral places: And while he prepares himſelf for the field, let us reflect upon the Iſle of *Ré*, where we left the Duke of *Buckingham*, publiſhing a declaration to juſtifie his Maſters proceedings, and advancing to quarter his army in the Town of Saint *Martin de Ré*, whence he began to ſtraighten the Citadel,

Citadel, consisting of four Bastions not yet perfected; and having no out-works to defend it: This place he resolved to reduce, by starving it, presuming they had but small store of provisions in it; and that being Master of the Sea, he might easily prevent the entry of any recruits either of men or victuals; but being something too careless in blocking them up, he contents himself with stopping up the Haven with boats and beams laid a cross it, surrounding the Fort with his Army, and the Island with his Fleet, but refraining to take a small Fort in the Island, which held for the King, and was seated on one of the best landing places in it: whence afterwards issued all the mischiefs that befel him.

Besides those errors, were committed also these, *viz.* that instead of raising a work towards the Sea, the only quarter to be feared, a very frivolous and useless one was raised on the Land, and three Batteries, but at a distance, rather to affright, than hurt: A Weir also was not well heeded, about five and twenty, or thirty paces from the Counterscarp, in which was only thrown a dead horse, and some stones to cover it; but the besieged knowing, of what dangerous consequence that loss would be to them, disfurnishing them of water in the Fort, quickly uncovered it, and having well cleared it, fortified it with a work, which preserved it them during the whole Siege: The Guards also were not well ordered towards the Sea; nor could the re-iterated advice of the Duke of *Soubize* ever induce them to divide their Ships, and place them before the Ports, where they would have much prejudiced the Romish Party. Nay, it was yet worse; for upon very light pretences, every day came one or other from the Fort, to speak with the Duke of *Buckingham*, and discover the condition of his Army; and from that time, by the means of the Baron *De Saint Surin* and *Montaut*, were set on foot on divers Treaties, which were continued till such time, as the Duke of *Buckingham* dispatch'd one of his Nephews to the Court with the said *Saint Surin*, but for what reason, was not known to the Duke of *Soubize*.

Now for the better understanding of this Affair, it is to be known, that *Ré* is an Island, lying about a League from *Rochelle*, seven miles in length, and of great fertility, especially in wine, and salt: There are in it, three principal *Bourgs*, or unwalled Towns, of which *Saint Martin De Ré* is one of the fairest of *France*, and seated on the best Rode of all that Coast: There is also a fair Port, which stretcheth it self all along the Town, like a little Arm of the Sea; and it was the mouth of that which the Duke of *Buckingham* blocked up, to prevent the introduction of provisions into the Fort: Between *Ré*, and *Broüage* lies another Island, called *Oleron*, as big, and populous as the other, but much more

more fruitful; in which the King had garriſon'd a Fort, b uil there by the Duke of *Soubize* in the former War, but of ſmall conſideration; had *Buckingham* ſeized upon this Iſland, where almoſt all the Inhabitants are of the Religion, he had then totally defeated the Fort of *Re* of all means of relief.

The King about this time falling ſick, was conſtrained to ſend the Duke of *Orleans* in his place, to command, and confirm the Army, which the Duke of *Angouleſme* had about *Rochelle*, where notwithſtanding the *Rochellers* proteſtations by which they diſowned any confederacy with the *Engliſh*, yet was their uſage nothing better, but they began now to begirt them more cloſely by Land, to retrench all manner of Proviſions: but the main deſign of the Army chiefly reflected upon the Fort of *Ré*, to recruit that with men, and victuals, in which they ſpared no expence, neither of men, nor money; ſo that at ſeveral times they got in ſufficient numbers to keep it till its entire deliverance.

The *Rochellers*, after they had eſſeen, but in vain, renewed their proteſtations of fidelity and obedience, ſeeing that all their ſubmiſſions, neither abated their ſufferings, nor the malice of thoſe who thirſted for their ruine, but only fomented diviſions among thoſe of the Religion, and furniſhed the ill-affected with ſpecious pretences to exclaim againſt the others; at length remonſtrate how that they had with-drawn themſelves from the Crown of *England*, to ſubject themſelves to that of *France*, the great priviledges they had acquir'd by it, their good ſervices ever ſince, their immoveable fidelity, in which they had conſtantly perſevered, notwithſtanding the deſtruction of their Trade, the conſuming of their Harveſts, the devaſtation of their Countrey, the cruelties exerciſed upon their Citizens; in ſhort, all thoſe miſeries which a licentious Army in many years can inflict upon their greateſt enemies; and after this ſad repetition of their ſufferings, openly declare for the *Engliſh*.

As for the Duke of *Rohan*, he alſo publiſhes a Declaration, containing the infractions of the two former peaces, the reaſons he had to reſent them, and makes his Addreſſes to the King of great *Britain*, who was Caution for the latter; proteſts that he has no other aime, than at the obſervation of the Edicts, which once granted, he freely offers to expoſe himſelf to a voluntary exile from the Kingdom, that ſo there might be no ground left for future pretences and jealouſies. On the other ſide, the King alſo iſſues forth new Declarations, in which he promiſes an obſervation of the Edicts to thoſe that ſhall perſiſt in their obedience, a pardon to thoſe that had flown from it, if within a certain time they returned to it, denouncing heavy ſeverities againſt the perſons, and

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eſtates of ſuch as ſhall adhere to the Reformed Party; the Duke of *Soubize* was proclaimed Traytour; and the Parliament of *Thoulouze*, though it has no juriſdiction over the Peers of *France*, condemned the Duke of *Rohan* to be torn in pieces with foure horſes, proclaimed him ignoble, and ſet a price of fifty thouſand Crowns upon his head, ennobling thoſe that ſhould aſſaſſinate him, which encouraged three or four unhappy Villains to attempt it; but they came ſhort of any other recompence than a Halter, or a Wheel; it being not within the compaſs of any humane power, without an eſpecial permiſſion of the Divine, either to prolong, or ſhorten the life of any man.

Theſe light skirmiſhes of the pen thus diſpatched, come we now to the more fatal ones of the Sword; of all the deſigns contrived, and promiſed to the Duke of *Rohan* to be put in execution upon divers places, in ſeveral Provinces, none took effect, but that of *Corconne*, the management of which, he had committed to the Lieutenant of his Guards, together with one named *De Pize*, (who in a ſhort time after, gave it back to the enemy again) The chiefeſt obſtacle of it was, the peoples refuſal to allow of any ſuch attempts, before an open Declaration of the War: So that at the beginning of this, there was not any Paltry Village, or Fort, that ſtood not upon his Guard; a thing not heard of in the former Civil Wars, when men were more zealous for their Religion, more faithful, ſecret, and confident of their Commanders, to whom they gave ſo great reſpect, that their bare Tickets only were ſufficient to engage them in a War, and to attempt the moſt conſiderable places of the Kingdom; whereas now the Irreligion and Diſloyalty of thoſe of the Religion, is more difficultly oppoſed, than the malice of their enemies.

About this time, *Montague* ſent him an Expreſs, importing, that the intentions of a Diſcent to be made in *Guyenne*, were altered, and that for this Summer the Duke of *Buckingham* would make no invaſion but about the Coaſt of *Rochelle*; ſo that the King of great *Britain* diſcharged him of his promiſe to march to *Montauban*, leaving him at liberty, to make choice of what place he pleaſed for this Summers action; but that the Duke of *Savoy*, with whom he was, was of opinion, that he might make a more advantagious progreſs along the *Rhone*, than in any other quarter, and promiſed to give the enemy a good diverſion in his: But all theſe deſigns were projected with reference to the taking of the Fort of *Ré*, of which there was not the leaſt umbrage of a doubt. The Duke of *Rohan* took this Expreſs into conſideration, and would willingly have made his firſt Exploits in thoſe quarters, had he not been neceſſitated to reclaim the Towns of *Rouergue*, and

and the higher *Languedoc*, who in his abſence had been inveigled into reſolutions contrary to his, and their determinations alſo ſent to the King; ſo that nothing but his preſence was capable to make them take Arms; which fixed him in his former purpoſes, for which he ſent *Montague* his Reaſons, aſſuring him however, that, if the Duke of *Savoy* would inſtantly take the Field, he would quit all other deſigns to joyn Forces with him; but that otherwiſe it would be expedient to remit that Affair till another time: And ſo, leaving the Baron D' *Aubais*, to command the lower *Languedoc*, and a Council in the *Sevenes*, to govern their Affairs there; he marched with his whole Force, compoſed of four thouſand five hundred Foot, and two hundred Horſe, directly towards *Millaud*; and in his March, took *Pont* D' *Arre*, a private Gentlemans houſe, and *Arigus* a Church that was fortified, and very much incommoded the Bayliwick of *Vigan*; whiles he ſtayed at *Saint John De Breüill*, *Alterac*, and *Guerin*, two of his *Partiſans* in *Millaud* came to meet, and diſſwade him from that attempt, alledging the difficulties attending it, and that as ſoon as *Montauban* and *Caſtres* had declared, they would do the like.

The Duke told them they had done very ill to come out of the Town, which they had left to the diſpoſal of thoſe that were diſaffected to them; that it would be the ruine of his deſigns, and a Preſident for all the Towns of *Roüergue* to ſhut their Gates againſt him; that he could not begin with *Montauban*, and *Caſtres*, for that *Millaud* lay directly in his way to them; and that he was reſolved with all his Troops to get in, or ravage their whole Countrey; deſiring them to go before, and give them notice of it: But they found how their abſence had encouraged the adverſe party, who having ſhut the Gates of the Town, and thoſe of the Bridge over the River *Tarn*, where they muſt of neceſſity paſs; they could not obtain a re-admittance, but were enforced to return to the Duke with the newes; which yet ſtopped him not, who well ſaw the neceſſity of proſecuting this deſign; hoping that the fight of him would animate the people to an inſurrection; who failed not his expectation: For having with much difficulty and peril, by reaſon of the depth, and largeneſs of the River, paſſed over ſome of his Guards, who laying at the Gates of the Bridge on both ſides, they at length fell down, and gave him free paſſage to the Suburbs, where taking ſome Horſe, and his Trumpets, and in that Equipage marching round the Town, he ſo excited the people, that under the favour of the night, without any oppoſition, they meet all with their Armes, and forcing the Conſuls to open the Gates, went themſelves to conduct him into the Town.

This ſucceſs made him way into all the Towns of *Roüergue*, and

end of the Mountain of *Albigeois*, except *Braſſac*, and *Saint Fe-lix* Tower, where he left ſome Regiments with *Vacquereſſe*, who had already blocked up this Tower, and having ſprung a Mine, took it upon compoſition; whereupon *Braſſac*, at the end of four and twenty houres yielded alſo: But *Saint Germier*, who carried on his buſineſs at *Caſtres*, behaved himſelf ſo ill, that he ſuffered himſelf, with all his Confidents to be turned out of the Town: This Preſident made *Realmont*, *Briteſte*, and the three Towns of *Lauraguais*; viz. *Puylaurens*, *Revel*, and *Soreze* refuſe alſo to declare; ſo that he was fain to come with his Cavalry to *Roque-Courbe*, a little Town, about one League diſtant from *Caſtres*, and two from *Realmont*; whence he made ſeveral Eſſayes to reduce thoſe two refractory places; at *Caſtres* he prevailed nothing at all; at *Realmont* his perſwaſions met a more civil reception, and their Gates, that refuſed the Duke of *Montmorency*, admitted him; there he placed *Maugis* Governour, who had been moſt active in doing him this ſervice, and very faithful to him in the precedent Wars.

The reduction of this place was ſome enlargement to him; thither he ſummoned the Colloque of *Albigeois*, which he wrought to reſolutions conformable to his own; but before he could advance any farther, *Puylaurens*, or *Revel* muſt of neceſſity be ſecured; otherwiſe it were impoſſible he ſhould adventure to go either to *Montauban*, or into *Foix*, being to march twelve or fifteen Leagues in an enemies Country, and that over great Plains too, having the Duke of *Montmorency* attending on him, who had drawn together the whole ſtrength of the Country to fight him, and was always double or treble ſtronger in Horſe than he; it was once in his thoughts to croſs the *Tarn*, but the late abundance of rain had made it unfordable; ſo that having no way but that of *Lauraguais*, and an Army before him, he could not put himſelf upon the hazard of that paſſage without ſome place of retreat. He begins therefore with *Puylaurens*, as a place whoſe example would invite all the reſt; *Terrieux*, and *Maurin*, two, whoſe good ſervices in the former Wars, made him repoſe a great confidence in, promiſed, that if he would give them five hundred piſtols to diſtribute in the Town, they would procure his admittance; but, inſtead of performing what they had engaged themſelves to do, they betray the whole deſign to the Duke of *Montmorency*, to the end he might ſurprize *Caſſagne*, who with his own, and the Baron of *Alets* his company, and fifty of the Duke of *Rohan*'s Guards, were commanded to execute it; to whom, when they came to the appointed Rendez-vous, the Traytors ſent word, that it was not in their power to effect what they had undertaken; the others ſeeing themſelves

themselves far from any retreat, *Cauſſe Cavallier*, who had very good acquaintance, and *Gaillard*, a brother, in *Revel*, who with *Des-Iſles-Maiſons* were carrying on an infallible deſign there, and which wanted only two dayes to be put in execution, fearing the inconveniencies threatned by the great length of their retreat, made a deſperate propoſal to anticipate the time, and attempt it preſently, which they all aſſented to, and ſucceeded ſo well in, that the people of *Revel* ſeeing *Rohans* Livery, imagining he himſelf was there, and *Gaillard*'s brother, with ſome other of the Inhabitants, having ſeized upon a Tower, favoured their *Eſcalade*, in which they met with no other oppoſition than ſome ſtones thrown at them: Thus they became Maſters of the Town, the news of which made the Duke of *Rohan* reſolve, inſtantly, and without any further delay to advance.

In order to which he cauſed fourty thouſand loaves to be made, and leaving *Roque-Courbe* came with part of his forces, and lay at *Ariſat*, a houſe not above halfe a League from *Caſtres*; the next day he marched to *Narrez*, where he appointed his general Rendez-vous, and quarters that night at *Sajes*, where he had intelligence that the Duke of *Montmorency* with all his troops lay between him and *Revel*, whereupon, to diſencumber himſelf of all the Carts he had to carry it, he diſtributed all the bread among his ſouldiers; and the next day having marched about a League, he diſcovered the Duke of *Montmorency*, with three or four hundred horſe only: whereupon he rallies his men, and in good order marches in ſight of him, keeping on his way to *Revel*, without any rencontre at all, and quartered about a League from *Revel*, where he arrived the next day early. The Duke of *Montmorency* takes up his quarters at *Saint Felix*, and other adjacent places, whence he might get the advantage of the way, whether he took that of *Montauban*, or of *Foix*.

The Duke of *Rohan*, in the meane time, intercepts a Letter written by the Conſuls of *Mazeres*, and addreſſed to the Preſident *de Suc*, importing the inclinations of that Town to joyne with the Reformed party, but that the Duke's preſence was very requiſite to promote the publique Declaration of their intentions; which he took into his ſerious conſideration, and reflecting upon this, that he had yet three dayes march before his Army could reach *Montauban*, no retreat upon the way, that his journey thither was not neceſſary, the *Engliſh* being engaged in other parts, and having good aſſurance of the entire affections of that Town, he thought fit to embrace this offered opportunity of reducing the whole Countrey of *Foix* to his party; This made him reſolve upon that courſe, and, that he might get the ſtart of the enemy, having

having cauſed his Souldiers to take bread for two dayes, and quit part of their baggage, he parts from *Revel* at midnight; but by reaſon of the badneſſe of the weather that night, and the incommodious advenews of the Village, where his foot lay, it was day before his Reare could get out of it; ſo that paſſing by *Montcauſſon*, where a troop of horſe of the enemies were quartered, notice of their march towards *Foix* being given, it occaſioned a ſlight skirmiſh, which yet retarded not the armies march: The ſame troop followed his Reare at a diſtance, till they came neare to a little Town called *Soville*, two Leagues from *Revel*, where the Duke of *Montmorency* was ranging his troops in Battalia, as conceiving it the moſt proper place to oppoſe the Duke of *Rohan's* paſſage, and fight him, by reaſon of a fair plain beneath it, very advantageous for his Cavalry, in which he was much ſuperiour, and of a little, but very dangerous brook, all whoſe bridges he had broken down, ſo that he could not paſſe but in ſight of him.

The Duke whoſe Army conſiſted of four thouſand foot, & fifteen hundred good horſe, made four Battalions of his Infantry, which he ranged in formes of Lozenges, leaving great intervals between them for his Cavalry who faced the enemies army, and could, as they marched, be eaſily ordered to charge them either in Front, Flanck, or Reare; and his baggage placed he in the middeſt of the four Battalions, reſolving in that order either to paſſe, or fight him; But enquiring of his guides, if there were no other paſſage over the brook but that which the enemy poſſeſſed, they informed him, that upon the left hand of him there was a Ford near a little Caſtle, called *de Jean*, where the brook being narrow, there might eaſily be a bridge made for the paſſage of the foot: Thither then marched he directly, leaving the Duke of *Montmorency's* Army on his right hand, and when he had gotten beyond him, very opportunely ſends to take the Caſtle, which two hundred ſouldiers of *Caſtelnaudary* were coming to poſſeſſe, and would mightily have incommoded his paſſage. This done he diſencumbers himſelf of his baggage, which he ſent before over the brook to the Caſtle, and having gained a little hill, between the enemy and the brook, halts there, to obſerve the countenance of the Duke of *Montmorency*, and conſidering what he were beſt to do; Once he thought not to quit the advantage of that place, fearing to march over the brook by day, in view of an army that ſought all advantages to encounter him, and might ſuffer as many as they pleaſed of his men to get over, and then charge the reſt: On the other ſide, conſidering, that if he ſtayed there without proviſions, in an enemies Countrey, an army attending him, and having five long Leagues to *Mazeres*, he feared it would be too great a burthen for his

his ſouldiers to ſupport, ſo that, by the advice of all his Officers, he reſolved to expoſe himſelf rather to the hazard of a battel, than the miſeries of toyle and famine; and when the bridge was made, marched towards it, in the aforeſaid equipage. *Ambon* who had the command of a troop of horſe, and was neareſt the Duke of *Montmorency*'s Army, being placed upon a hillock, that gave him the proſpect of the whole Countrey every way, let the Army advance too far before him, before he began to draw off; ſo that he was charged by two hundred Horſe, who purſued him home to his Foot in great diſorder, and had like to have Routed them too; but the Duke of *Rohan*'s Guards, who were very opportunely on foot, and ready to relieve him, gave them a Volley, and at the ſame inſtant a ſharp charge; and repulſe; this beginning much animated *Montmorency*'s Army, part of his Cavalry, with his Foot alſo, advancing with great ſhouts to the charge; but receiving a ſecond repulſe, and two of the Duke of *Rohan*'s Battaillons coming up, with their Pikes charged directly to them; the Foot ſtayed not to expect them; but flying, caſt away their Arms, and quitted the Field; they were cloſely purſued up to a Work, which hindred our diſcovery of what was on the other ſide of it, and ſaved the enemy from an entire defeat: For the Duke of *Rohan* would not ſuffer his men to make any confuſed purſuit, becauſe the Duke of *Montmorency*, who had not yet come up to the charge, was beyond that Work, with above three hundred Horſe in Battaila; but commanded *Leques* only to advance, to obſerve their poſture.

The Duke of *Montmorency*, when he had rallied his Men, drew them off to *Soville*, and there Ranged them again in Battaila, but without any ſemblance of renewing the Fight: The Duke of *Rohan*, for his part, kept the Field more than a long houre, cauſed his dead to be buried, and thanks to be given to God; and then, without any interruption, paſſed the Brooks and kept on his way; but could not reach *Mazeres* till the next day, at Noon, after he had been forty houres on horſe-back: In this Fight he loſt *Cauſſe-Caucallier*, one of his Life-guard, one of his Pages, two Lieutenants of Foot, five or ſix Souldiers, and had thirty or forty wounded. Of the Duke of *Montmorency*'s party, were loſt many more, yet was it no bloody Incounter; and it is to be believed that this engagement of his was rather occaſional, than before determined; for it ſeems he had more reaſon to charge the Duke of *Rohan* in his paſſage over the Brooks, than in any other part: But 'tis eaſier to correct the actions of others, when a man is out of danger of the blowes, than in the action it ſelf, which requires a prompt and ſudden execution, and afe-

fords not leasure to perpend, and weigh all events. The Duke of *Montmorency* had, at this Rencontre, but three thousand Foot, but he had six, or seven hundred Horse of his own, besides all the Gentry of quality of *Languedoc*, *Roüergue*, *Foix*, and some from beyond the *Garonne*.

When the Duke of *Rohan* came to *Mazeres*, all his men oppressed with hunger, lassitude, and want of sleep, for refreshment, he found the gates shut against him, and the Magistrates utterly averse to receive him; but the common people at length took heart, and in spight of the Consuls, and most potent Inhabitants, let him in; where, after he had taken the best order he could for quartering of his Horse, he made provision for his Foot also. When the Duke of *Montmorency* heard of the indisposition of the people of *Foix* to joyne with the Duke of *Rohan*'s Forces; he came and took up his quarters at *Saint Gallelle* upon the River *Cers*, which runs to *Mazeres*, a good league distant from *Saverdun*, whence he sent to inform them, that he was come thither with his Army for their assistance, that they should be of good courage, and not suffer themselves to be caught by the allurements of the Duke of *Rohan*; who for eight dayes together, was oppressed with the extremity of keeping all his Army upon his own expence, and yet could he hardly furnish his Foot with one loaf a day each one; having no other place in *Foix* besides *Mazeres*, and the River *Riege* swollen to a height, that making it unfordable, cut off all communication with the upper *Foix*: So, that had these inconveniencies lasted but a few dayes longer, he had been in danger of perishing by Famine if he stayed; or by the Sword, if he returned; having no Ammunition to defend himself withall: All these necessities pressing him, he sounded so many Fordes, till at length having found one between *Saverdun*, and *Pamiez*, which the Duke of *Montmorency* could not so suddenly reach, he resolves in this desperate condition, to make an attempt on *Saverdun*, where he knew the people were well-affected to him, and the lower Town being easie to be forced, he hoped that when he had taken that; fear would induce the other to an accommodation with him; which project had a wished success: To this end, he marches by night from *Mazeres* with a part of his Troops, and at break of day passes the *Ford*; but with great difficulty for the Foot, by reason of the swiftness, and extream coldness of the River, which then also was swelled so high, that some of his Souldiers, and many of his Arms were lost in it; so that at last the Horse were necessitated to transport the remaining Foot behind them; which done, he marches strait to *Saverdun*; where first, by a Trumpet he summoned

ſummoned the Inhabitants to open their Gates; and upon their refuſal advances, and, after ſome Volleys of ſmall ſhot, which neither ſlew, nor hurt any one, with the aſſiſtance of ſome honeſt perſons of the Town, Ladders were mounted, and the place entred: The taking of the lower Town, much confounded the ill-affected; ſome flie, others hide themſelves, at length all cry out for mercy; and the higher Town alſo was ſurrendred on the 12th. of *Novemb.* 1627.

The ſame day *Faucon*, by the Duke of *Rohan*'s order, with two hundred Men, ſecured *Montmaur*, a ſmall Town, and Caſtle lying between *Revel*, and *Mazeres*; but of great conſequence for the uniting *Lauraguais*, and *Foix*: This was effected by the intelligence of *La Barte*, whom the Duke of *Montmorency* had highly diſguſted.

The Duke vigorouſly proſecutes theſe fortunate ſucceſſes, and upon hopes of ſome Correſpondents in *Pamiez*, on the 22th. of the ſame Month he ſhewes himſelf with his Horſe before it, but had no other entertainment than what they ſent him from their Muſquets; whereupon he determined, the night following, to clap a Petarde to the Wall, to which he was induced by ſome of the Inhabitants, that had given him a meeting near the Town; inſtead then of returning to *Saverdun*, whither he was going, he retires to a Covert, half a league from *Pamiez*, forbidding his men to make any fires; thither he commands *Goudin* and *Malmoirac*, with their Regiments, whom he had before ordered to be in a readineſs; but thoſe that ſhould have come out of the Town to conduct him to the place, and inform him of the true ſtate of it, came not to the Rendez-vous; nevertheleſs *Bruel*, one of the Town, Author of this enterpriſe, and who knew well enough where the Petarde was to be fixed, being with him, he proceeded in the deſigned attempt, which was executed after this manner. *Caſſagne* had the command and conduct of the *Petards*, which were carried by Gentlemen of his own, and ſome Officers of his Horſe, who were ſeconded by *Leques* with thirty armed Men, and fifty choice Pikes, and Muſquetiers; after whom marched *Goudin*, and *Malmoirac*, then the Duke of *Rohan* himſelf in perſon: In this Equipage they come up to the Wall, where, notwithſtanding the Allarme, and Volleys of ſhot, the firſt Petarde was fixed, but the Breach being not large enough, a ſecond was clapped on, which extended it to a ſufficient wideneſs for an armed man to paſs; whither the Inhabitants flocking to defend the Breach, *Bazier* the Engineer, took a ſmall Granade, and threw it in through the Hole among them, where it broke, and ſpoiled the Thigh of one of the Defendants, and diſſipated the

reſt; which gave the Aſſailants opportunity to enter the Breach; the firſt that entred, was *La Tour Caneſtoux*; the ſecond, was the Baron of *Villemade*, and after them, the whole Party. The taking of the Town in this manner, ſpread ſo univerſal a terrour over *Foix*, that ſome Forts, well ſtored with all neceſſaries, gave themſelves up for fear. After this the Duke was received into the *Mas d' Azil*, and *Carlat*, by which means he reduced all thoſe, that were of the Religion in the County of *Foix*, to his party; and probably had done much more, had the *Engliſh* enterprizes in the Iſle of *Ré* proſpered; whom it will be now expedient to look after.

The negligence of the *Engliſh*, gave opportunity to thirteen Barks, laden with proviſions, to come up to the Citadel, where they arrived the ſixth of *September*, about the Morning, and got off again the ninth following, carrying with them all the wounded and unuſeful perſons: The eaſie paſſage of theſe, encouraged others to the like adventure; but, the Guards being re-inforced by the *Rochellers*, ſome of them were taken, and ſeverely deakt withall; and on the laſt of *September*, of fifteen or ſixteen Barks which came up, ſeven were taken, and the reſt put to flight.

On the twelfth of *September* came from *England* a Renfort of fifteen or ſixteen hundred Souldiers, with a ſupply of all other neceſſaries; whereupon the Duke reſolved to attempt the little Fort *De la Prée*, and turned ſome of his Canon that way; but this deſign was daſhed upon a ſudden, no man knows why.

On the ſixth of *October*, the beſieged, preſſed by ſtrong neceſſities, ſent out *Montaud* with offers to capitulate, in caſe they were not relieved with victuals the next day: This obliged us to double our Guards, and, as the winde ſate, it was eaſie to conjecture that the relief could not come but from *Oleonne*; whereupon ſome ſhips were commanded out to meet them, and prevent their paſſage; but, inſtead of that, the Captain of the Guard took another courſe, and went with his ſhips to the *Foſſe de l' Oye*, while three and thirty Barks, ſeizing the opportunity, paſſed without interruption, and nine and twenty of them came up under the Citadel; where yet it is to be noted, that they could not come near the Land, but upon a great Flood, which comes but every fifteen dayes, by reaſon whereof the *Engliſh* might yet with much facility, have deſtroyed the relief; which though arrived, yet could not be unladen; ſo that Propoſitions were made to the Duke, aſſaulting them on both ſides by Land, to fire the Barks with what was in them: which might have been done without any prejudice received from the Caſtle, by reaſon of the height of the Banks

Banks capable to ſhelter the Aſſailants: He ſeemed to approve of this motion, but took no courſe to put it in act; contenting himſelf only with trifling away the time in vain attempts to fire them by Sea.

When the relief was gotten in, *Buckingham* calls a Council, who reſolve to draw off; ſo that on the twelfth of *October*, they began to re-imbarque their Armes, and other Ammunitions they had upon the Land: After this he ſent for a Gentleman belonging to the Duke of *Soubize*, to whom he declared that the Council of War, conſidering how well the place was ſtored with all neceſſaries, the year ſo far ſpent, his Army much diminiſhed, and all his Proviſions conſumed, had conceived it neceſſary to draw off; The Gentleman endeavoured to diſſwade him from that reſolution, ſhewing him that the Fleet which the Earl of *Holland* was conducting to them, would ſufficiently repaire all thoſe neceſſities; that the relief the Beſieged had received could not laſt long; and that if vigilant guards were kept, they would be ſoon reduced to their former extremities; that his retreat now he had engaged them, would be the loſs and ruine of the *Rochellers*, who would caſt all their diſpleaſure and *odium* upon the Duke of *Soubize*, as the Authour of their deſtruction; and that it would be an irreparable diſ-reputation to the King his Maſters Armes, to have attempted ſuch an enterpriſe with ſo little honor and profit.

To all which Arguments he gave no other anſwer, than that his Captains would ſtay no longer; but yet, if the Earl of *Holland* came time enough, with his Fleet, he would endeavour to alter their minds: By which the Gentleman concluding that the Duke was fixed in his reſolutions to be gone, gave ſpeedy notice of it to the Duke of *Soubize*, who ever ſince the middle of *September* had lain ſick at *Rochelle* of a *tertian* Ague joyned with a great vomiting, deſiring him, if poſſible, to poſt thither; which he did, and at his arrival in the Iſle of *Ré*, uſes all his Art to perſwade the Duke of *Buckingham* and his Officers into a better humour, of which they gave him ſome ſmall hopes; but he, nevertheleſs, ſeeing them ſtill carrying their things aboard, aſſured himſelf they would not budge from their former purpoſes.

The King, in the mean time, being recovered of his ſickneſs, comes in perſon before *Rochelle*; where his preſence raiſed both the number and ſpirits of his Army, and upon intelligence how the Duke of *Buckingham*'s was leſſened, reſolves to make a deſcent into the Iſle of Ré under the protection of the little Fort *de la Prée*, which had ſtill held out. On the other ſide the *Engliſh*

men's desire to return, having made them very careless of their guards, they suffered seven or eight pinnaces to steal up towards the Fort, and on the sixteenth of *October* they land four hundred men; the twenty seventh there came up ten more, and on the thirtieth five and twenty; whereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* rallies his Men; and, quitting the greatest part of the Trenches, marches by night, with what horse and foot he had, to prevent a discent already made, commanding out a forlorne of *French*, which not being seconded, were enforced to retire. The Merchants of *Rochelle* in the mean time, seeing what preparations were made for his return, instantly sollicite the Duke to give them fifty or sixty tunnes of Corn he had upon the Shore, which he assented not to, till they had no leasure to carry it off, so that they fell to the enemies share; But before his departure, to shew that he had left nothing unattempted, he resolved to make one essay more, which resolution he grounded upon the report of some fugitives from the Fort, who averred that there were but eight hundred souldiers in it, and those too for the greatest part sick; that the Courtain towards the Sea had neither graffe nor Rampart, so that if he mounted his Ladders on that side, it might be easily forced. Without any further information, or battering the Parapetts, he resolves to give a general assault, proposes it to the *French* Officers, desiring them to dispose the *English* Colonels to it, and in case they should stick at it, he would then make use of his power to command them. The attempt thus resolved on, he prepares his men for the storm, assigning the *English* and *Irish* their post on the land side, and the *French* mixed with *English* towards the Sea: *Manuel* conducted the ten first Ladders, but could mount but two, though his party behaved themselves with much gallantry and resolution; (but to attempt to force by *Escalade* above fifteen hundred Men in a Fort with four *Bastions*, well furnished with Artillery, and all other necessaries, was a way eternally to discourage his Souldiers, rather than to lead them on to the purchase of any honour) but leaving many dead, and carrying off more wounded, they were forced to retire.

This repulse, together with the intelligence of the hourly encrease of the forces in the Fort *de la Prée*, hastned the Duke of *Buckingham*'s raising the Siege, and his retreat to the *Bay de l'Oye*, to ship his men with more leasure and security: On the eight of *November* early in the morning the Drums beat for their departure at noon, and scarcely was the Rear-Guard got out of the Town, but the King's Army appeared much stronger in Horse, and equal to the others in Foot; having this further

ther advantage, to purſue a retreating Army, and ſeize all occaſions which either the inconmodity of the paſſes, or the uſual diſorders that attend ſuch retreats might favour them with. At the paſs *de la Coharde*, they made as though they would have charged them, but obſerving the good order of the *Engliſh*, and the advantage they had of the ground, after a long halt, both Armies marched off, the *Engliſh* keeping the plain, and the King's Forces the Sea coaſt: Beyond this paſs was a hollow way, which croſſing the Marſh, extended it ſelf as far as the Bridge *de l' Oye*: At the entring of this the Squadrons began to be ſomewhat preſſed, and to ſtand upon their defence; but the Van, and then the Body being got into it, the Rear-guard, charged by the Marſhal *Schomberg*, was eaſily routed; in which defeat the *Engliſh* loſt ſeven or eight hundred men, but the night approaching, favoured their imbarquing of the reſt.

In this action the Duke of *Buckingham* committed two great errours; one was, The committing his retreat to the charge of fourſcore Horſe, which being forced in upon the Rear of their own Troops, broke, and confounded them; the other was, His omiſſion to raiſe a Fort, or ſome other defenceable work at the entry of that hollow way, where he had ſtill deſigned to make his retreat in caſe of neceſſity, which would abſolutely have ſecured it.

At his departure, he aſſures the *Rochellers* of his ſpeedy return to their deliverance, with a more numerous and better fortified Fleet, alledging the inconvenience of the ſeaſon, and defect of proviſions, as the only cauſes that obliged him to draw off; and promiſing them a quick and abundant ſupply of all neceſſaries for a long defence; and further deſires ſome of their Merchants to follow him into *England*, that they might teſtifie the integrity of his affection and diligence, and that they might themſelves carry back the effects of his promiſes. Nevertheleſs when he drew near the Coaſt of *England*, himſelf took a fly-boat, ſending the *Rochelle* Merchants to expect him at *Briſtol*, deſiring the Duke of *Soubize* to do the ſame at *Portſmouth*, where he would be as ſoon as he; and then ſteers his courſe towards *Plymouth*, where the Earl of *Holland's* Fleet rode. When he came thither, he gave order that the ſhips that there lay ready, and laden with Corn for the *Rochellers*, ſhould be diſcharged, and the Proviſions ſold, upon pretence that they would be ſpoyled; which done he gets before to poſſeſs the ſpirit of the King of great *Britain*, rejecting the blame of the errours committed in the expedition on thoſe were no way culpable; So that when

the Merchants came to exhibite their complaints againſt him, they were informed, it was the next way to make their condition worſe: And when they importuned him for a quick diſpatch of the proviſions for the *Rochellers*, the Duke of *Buckingham* uſed no other excuſe to anſwer their ſollicitations, than that they were ſold; and that which more amazed them, was his carrying away three hundred Tun of Corn, which he might have left them, till they could have been better ſtored. But notwithſtanding all this, the Merchans addreſſed themſelves to the King of *England* himſelf; to whom they repreſented their imminent danger, and the great preparations making to conſummate their ruine; imploring his Majeſty to favour them with a good and ſpeedy recruit of Victuals, that being the greateſt want that afflicted them; which once ſupplied, there was nothing elſe which they much feared. But if their enemies had leaſure to block up their Port, their deſtruction was inevitable: All which the King anſwered with promiſes of a powerful and ſpeedy relief, aſſuring them moreover, that he would hazard all the Forces of his Kingdom, rather than ſuffer them to periſh.

While they expect the effect of theſe promiſes, the *Rochellers* diſpatcht their Admiral *Bragneau* with money, and expreſs command to buy Corn, to lade both his own, and thoſe other ſhips they had already in *England*, and to return with it with all ſpeed: *David*, who was ſent after him, with the like Commiſſion, ſtores his ſhips with proviſions, and very happily got back with them into *Rochelle*: But *Bragneau*, inſtead of executing his Commiſſion, goes directly from *Plymouth*, where all things were ready for him, to *Portſmouth*, under colour of furniſhing himſelf at a better rate; and yet inſtead of doing that, goes to *London*, where puft up with vanity derived from the promiſes of the Duke of *Buckingham*, he minded nothing but an ambitious and covetous purſuit of the honour and profit of the Admiralty of the refugiated *French*, which at length he obtained, by the voluntary demiſſion of it, which the Duke of *Soubize* made of it, in favour of the *Rochellers*, and to eaſe them of the extraordinary expences they were at; and yet notwithſtanding all the inſtant, and dayly ſollicitations made to him to that purpoſe, could not induce him to be gone, till the difficulties of the paſſage grew ſo great, that he was at laſt forced to wait the departure of the other Fleet preparing for their relief.

This was the iſſue of this expedition of the Duke of *Buckingham*, in which he wracked both his own and his Countreys honor, conſumed much of the *Rochellers* proviſions, and ruined the party he came to relieve.

The

The hopes this Victory gave the King of carrying the Town, made him more intent upon the Siege: The whole winter he spent in investing it by Land with Forts, Redoubts, and lines of Communication, and straightning it at Sea by a Bar extending from the point of *Coreilles* to *Fort Lewis*, in which he spared neither cost nor pains.

The Bonfires the *Romanists* made throughout the whole Country of *Foix*, gave the Duke of *Rohan* the first light of these misfortunes, the certainty of which was afterwards confirmed by an expresse from the Duke of *Soubize*, who encouraged him still with hopes that, the next Spring they should return in a condition to wipe off the stains this affront had cast upon them.

At the same time the Duke of *Rohan* received two several Advertisements from the lower *Languedoc*; one was, that the Marquess *de Portes*, who had many confederates in the *Colloque* of *Saint Germain*, having corrupted the Garison in the Castle of *Florac*, and gotten them to declare openly for him; *Montredon*, chief of the said *Colloque*, hasted thither, and calling in the whole Province to his aide, had besieged the Castle, and in sight of the Marquess *de Portes*, who was come with two thousand men to relieve it, sprung two Mines, stormed, and forced it to surrender: The other was, that the Prince of *Condé* was coming down the *Rhone* towards the lower *Languedoc*, and that *Brison* was in Treaty with him about the Province of *Vivarets*, which he sought by all means to intimidate; urging the Duke of *Rohan*'s absence, and at so great a distance from them as an argument to inforce his design: This made him consider that it was best to preserve what they were already Masters of; conceiving that if he wintered in *Foix*, he should bring a famine on the Countrey, which had already had but a bad year, and was so little, and so remote from their other quarters, that if the Prince of *Condé* on one hand, and the Duke *d'Espernon* on the other, should joyn with the Duke of *Montmorency*, he should be blocked up on all sides: That if he went to *Montauban* it would be to small purpose, for that the *English* were now gone, and the Winter was come on, and moreover that there was no possibility for him to return thence again; so that he conceived the securest way was, to return towards the lower *Languedoc* to oppose the Prince of *Condé* there, and so preserve that Countrey.

But before his departure, he convened the *Colloque* of *Foix*, settles *Beaufort* in the Government of it, to the great satisfaction and joy of the Inhabitants; leaving with him his own Regiment

ment (which consisted yet of eight hundred men) and his own Troop of light Horse-men; makes *Rousseliere* Governour of *Saverdun*; took order for the fortifying of some places, of which there were three very considerable, to wit *Mazeres*, *Saverdun*, and *Carlat*; and as for the *Mas d'Azil*, the good fortune they had to withstand the former Siege, gave them courage again to stand upon their defence.

The only perplexity he had was for *Pamiez*, being a great Town, not fortifiable, nor well peopled of it self; nor indeed were there enough of the Religion in all *Foix* to man it as it ought: The right course had been to dismantle it; but Men, with whom in Warres of such a nature a man must of necessity comply, are hardly perswaded to things of that kinde: But although this remedy could not be applied, yet he prevailed so far upon the Inhabitants, as to fortifie a quarter of their Town called *le Marcadal*, very conveniently seated, where he designed a handsom fortification; which done he appoints his General Rendez-vous at *Mazeres*, whence he marches by night, and returning the same way he went, comes to *Revel*.

The Duke of *Montmorency* having notice of his motion, goes to wait for him on the great Road to *Montauban*, whence he suddenly retired again to his quarters. The Duke goes from *Revel* to the higher *Languedoc*, where re-assembling the *Colloque* he informed them of all he had done in *Foix*; encourages them to a constant perseverance in their fidelity; and establishes a Council for the direction of their affaires, untill such time, as he could send them a President for the *Colloque*, there being no man among them, that the rest would give place to, for that the Marquess of *Malauze* who had been formerly their President, and would, without dispute, have again been accepted of, was now wholly bent against their Party; the Court having prevailed so farre upon him, as to make him oppose the Duke of *Rohan* in that Province; which that he might the better do, he faines a desire to be reconciled with him, which he signifies by Letter to *Beaufort*; and afterwards, at his first meeting with the Duke, discovering some displeasure, that *Castres* was not yet joyned with the Party, protested that as soon as that Town, and *Montauban*, should do so, and that a General Assembly was formed, he would also publiquely declare for them. This had a pestilent influence on the weaker sort, and gave the disaffected among them, an opportunity to work much mischief among the people; For neither the Declarations of *Montauban* and *Castres*, nor the convening of a general Assembly wrought any change at all in him, who continued still an enemy to the Re-

formed

ormed Party; And diſpatches alſo *Villemade* to *Montauban* to inform them of the cauſe of his return, to perſwade them to declare, and to command the Souldiery, but in ſubordination to the Conſuls: But this laſt propoſition ſpoyled all the reſt; *no man being eſteemed a Prophet in his own Countrey*, ſo that they reſolved to aſſure themſelves of a Governour before they would engage in the War.

After this the Duke returns towards the *Sevenes*, and when he came to *Vigan*, received very urgent diſpatches from *Vivarets*, with intelligence that *Briſon* had quitted all the higher *Vivarets*, upon the approach of the Prince of *Condé* (although for want of Canon, he was not in a capacity to force the moſt inconſiderable Fort there) who had burnt and pillaged that poor Countrey; and that, if they had not ſpeedy relief, it was to be feared that *Privas*, and the lower *Vivarets*, would make their peace, to which *Briſon* earneſtly incited them; but upon notice of the Duke's return, and that he was coming in perſon to their relief, they re-aſſumed their courages, and maugre all *Briſon*'s diſſwaſions, reſolved to ſtand upon their guard; which obliged the Prince to paſs into the lower *Languedoc*; whither when the Duke alſo came, he met with ſome Souldiers of *Niſmes*, who had ſeized the Caſtle of *Vauvert*, which he cauſed them to quit, upon the advance of the Prince, who ſeemed to have an intention to beſiege it; unwilling to give him any occaſion to ſtop there, knowing that his orders were to paſs into the higher *Languedoc*, and that his ſtay would prejudice a deſign he had upon the Citadel of *Montpellier*, which *Bretigny David*, for ſix months together, had managed with the Baron *de Meſſay*, his Kinſman, and intimate friend; and eldeſt Captaine of the Regiment of *Normandy*, then in Gariſon in *Montpellier*.

Now, foraſmuch as upon the arrival of *de Foſſe*, the Regiments of *Normandy* and *Picardy* were to be drawn out of the Town, and others to be placed there in their rooms; *Meſſay*, who had there married one of the Religion, ſeemed much diſcontented at this alteration; and that he had not left his own to embrace the Reformed Party: *Bretigny*, on the other ſide, who very well knew his ambition, cheriſhes him in this humour, and at length tells him, that if he could contrive a way to make himſelf Maſter of *Montpellier*, it would be then in his own power to make himſelf ſatisfaction; and that withal he would be received into a Party, from which, by that means, he might obtaine whatever his own wiſhes could ſuggeſt to his Hopes. The other liſtens to him, and demands time to conſider both of the

the thing, and the means to effect it, and both together contrived expedients for mutual Interviews, and conveying intelligence, without ſuſpition, one to the other. Not long after he tells him he was now reſolved to undertake the buſineſs; Treats with him concerning the advantages and conditions he expected from the Reformed Party, and ſhews him the way he had to make himſelf Maſter of the Citadel; to wit, that being on the Guard every fourth day with his own Company, he could, with much eaſe, let in as many as he pleaſed into it: That for aſſurance of his fidelity he would give his Wife in hoſtage; and when the deſign was to be put in execution he would advance an hundred paces from the Citadel towards *Bretigny*, to yield himſelf up into his hands.

When all theſe things were communicated to the Duke of *Rohan*, he very well liked of them, for that the two lines of Communication, which conjoyned the Town with the Citadel, being made, and the Town Wall that ſeparated them razed, as they were now at work upon it, the Town would not be able to defend it ſelf; but withal he declared that he would never attempt this deſign, till that Wall were down, or, at leaſt, great breaches were made in it, that ſo one and the ſame action might put them in poſſeſſion both of Town and Citadel. The deſign thus concluded on, the Duke, for ſome dayes, deferres his march: But ſeeing they proceeded too ſlowly in raiſing the Walls, he departs, and advancing a little way from *Roque-Courbe* to paſs into *Foix*, *Meſlay* ſends *Bretigny* word, that the affaire was now in a very good poſture, and that it was neceſſary it ſhould be put in execution, before the Gariſon in the Citadel was changed; Whereupon he is diſpatched into the *Sevenes*, and the lower *Languedoc*, with all neceſſary inſtructions tending to the executing of the deſign, and an expreſs charge particularly to impart it to *Montredon*, and to none elſe: But all was delayed till the arrival of the Duke of *Rohan*, to whom they then made new Propoſitions, that, at the ſame time the Citadel ſhould be attempted without, he ſhould ſtorm the Town with two thouſand Men, and alſo ſcale the Walls of Communication, alledging, that when they ſhould be Maſters of the Citadel, the time they muſt have to paſs three or four thouſand Men, through one gate, would give the Town too much leaſure to arm themſelves. This made him ſomewhat more cold in the buſineſs, and gave him great ſuſpicions of the treachery intended; whereupon he continued firm in his former reſolution; in ſo much as *Bretigny* complained that he found him ſo refractory in a buſineſs able to revive their drooping Party; But he de-

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monſtrated to him the danger of this laſt propoſal, and that being once Maſter of the Citadel, nothing could hinder his taking of the Town alſo.

While the Prince of *Condé* was upon his March towards the higher *Languedoc*, the Duke of *Rohan* Rallies his Forces, appointing the Rendez-vous to be on the 19th. of *January* a little above *Claret*, five leagues from *Montpellier*; where about two of the clock in the Afternoon, there met ſix thouſand fighting men: Thence he ſent a party of Horſe to advance before the reſt of the Army, as far as the Bridge of *Saleſon*, which is about a league from *Montpellier*, to intercept all ſuch as might give any notice of his approach: And then commands *Bretigny*, chief of the enterpriſe, to march with the Van, conſiſting of fifteen hundred Men, and divided into ſix Squadrons; the three firſt were compoſed each one of thirty armed men, called out of the Volunteers, and out of the beſt of the Cavalry, with Halberds and Piſtols; and of fourſcore others, half-Pikes, half-Muſquitiers; every ten armed Men had their Officer, and carried with them Petardes, and Ladders, to force the Court of Guard in the Citadel; and two great Forks to keep up the Portcullis; the other three Troops were compoſed of four hundred men, each one; and were ordered for a Reſerve to the other: After theſe, marched the Duke with his Men at Armes, followed by all the other Squadrons, the biggeſt of which conſiſted not of above four, or five hundred men. When they came to the Bridge of *Saleſon*, they found there the Baron *de Meſlay's Man*, who aſſured *Bretigny* that all went well; whereupon, leaving all their Baggage on the other ſide of the Bridge of *Saleſon*, with a hundred Souldiers only to guard it, they advance as far as the Bridge called *Juvenal*, which is about a Canon ſhot from *Montpellier*: *Bretigny*, by a bold Souldier, gives notice of his arrival to his Couſin, who ſo well knew how to fool him, that he returned with an aſſurance that all was well, and in a good condition, and that there was no difficulty in the matter: Whereupon he proceeds, not minding at all what had been ſo often recommended to him, not to enter the place untill *Meſlay* was come forth to him, and had put himſelf into his hands; but his impatient deſire to execute ſo brave a deſign, animates him, without this precaution, to enter the Citadel with ſix or ſeven and thirty men; thoſe within not daring to let any more come in: For as ſoon as they ſaw them plant their Forks to ſupport the Portcullis, they cut a cord, by which means the Bridge was drawn up, and a Trap-door opened, whence moſt of thoſe that were gotten in, fell down into a Trench, where they were all harque-buſiered, the Muſquitiers at the ſame time

time playing on thoſe without; *Montrodan*, who in *Bretigny*'s abſence was to command, and had received a charge to be at the Gate, and ſee them all enter in good order, drew off the Troops, and gave the Duke notice of their ſucceſs, who had drawn up his whole Body in Battaila on the right and left hand of the great Road-way, which he had left open for the retreat of thoſe of the Van; who when they were all paſſed, he returned to the Bridge of *Saleſon*, where making an Halt, he Rallied his Men, and then drew off into the Plains between *Montpellier*, and *Lunel*, quartering his Men in the beſt Villages thereabouts; not any one ſtirring out of *Montpellier* to purſue him, or obſerve his March. The next day he gave leave to the Troops, that came from the *Sevenes* to depart; and marched with thoſe of the lower *Languedoc*, to *Saint Gilles*, where he thought to have made an attempt upon that Garriſon, but the violence of the cold forced him to ſend his Men into quarters.

This was the iſſue of that enterpriſe, in which *Bretigny*, and his brother were ſlain, with about twenty others, and ſixteen or ſeventeen more were taken priſoners.

This Winter was the Duke of *Rohan* hardly preſſed both in the upper *Languedoc*, and in *Vivaretz*; in the former of which was the Prince of *Condé*; who whil'ſt he prepared to invade the Province by open force, endeavoured alſo by ſecret practices to undermine the conſtancy of thoſe Towns that had declared for the Reformed Party; ſo that the Duke of *Rohans* preſence there, with his Forces, was abſolutely neceſſary: And on the other ſide *Vivaretz*, ſince the Prince his March through it, was in a miſerable condition; the higher *Vivaretz* being loſt, with all that the Duke held upon the *Rhone*: And beſides all this, the Duke of *Ventadour* in his Seigniories, and *Meſſanges* in thoſe he held in right of his Wife, uſed extream cruelties, and violences againſt thoſe of the Religion, ſeizing on their Eſtates, torturing their Bodies with Whips, and Baſtinadoes, driving them to Maſſe; ſo that there came thence, to the Duke, frequent diſpatches, and Deputies, one upon the heels of another, to implore his preſence, and the aſſiſtance of his Forces, to reſtore them to their liberty, which otherwiſe they ſhould be inforced to purchaſe at any rate; conſidering alſo the diviſions between all the Nobility of that Countrey, and *Brifac*; aſſuring him alſo that they had taken care for the quartering of his Troops as long as their neceſſity ſhould require their ſtay there.

There happened yet another accident, which much obſtructed this Voyage; to wit, the unexpected death of *Briſac*, which much

much enlarged the former diviſions; for if the Nobility refuſed to ſubmit to *Briſon*, who had been already twice Governour of the Province, much more would they oppoſe his brother *Chevrilles*, a young man, of ſmall experience, and far ſhort of his brothers conduct to govern the Province: On the other ſide the faction of *Briſon*, which was the moſt prevalent in *Privas*, and *Privas* the moſt conſiderable place of all *Vivarets*, choſe *Chevrilles* for their Governour; for that, being conſcious of his weakneſs, they thought to rule all more abſolutely, than under his brother, and to allow him what part they pleaſed, in the adminiſtration of the Affairs: To which muſt be added, that the Province of the lower *Languedoc*, which was to advance the Leavy-money, being highly intereſſed in the preſervation of *Vivarets*, and blocking up the *Rhone*, it being a River that with great facility and ſpeed could convey all ſorts of Arms, and Ammunition to the enemy, preferred this deſign, before that of the higher *Languedoc*; for which place *Rohan* had raiſed two Regiments, of five hundred Men apiece, which was all they deſired, in caſe he could not come himſelf in perſon: But the untoward humour of *Faucon*, to ſay no worſe, much retarded this relief; for being deſigned for that expedition, after he had promiſed to go, and for that reaſon had received more Advance-money than was uſually allowed; he endeavoured to corrupt his Captains, that ſo he might reject his merited blame on them; but being not able to prevail on more than one, he was at length conſtrained to declare openly that he would not go at all; ſo that the Duke could ſend but eight of thoſe Companies with *Caumette-Chambaud*, who commanded the other Regiment: But by reaſon of theſe difficulties, protractions, and the artifices uſed by *Faucon* to withdraw both Officer, and Souldier from this Voyage, theſe eight Companies could never amount to more than eight hundred men in the whole. The Duke thereupon cauſed *Faucon* to be ſecured, and tryed at a Councel of War, where he found more favour than juſtice. 'Tis one of the greateſt calamities that attend the Generals of Parties poor, and compoſed of Volunteries only, that they have no capacity either to reward the Noble, or puniſh degenerous and unworthy actions.

But to return to the Voyage of *Vivarets*: The Duke of *Rohan* raiſes four thouſand Foot, and about two hundred Horſe: But before he began his March thither, diſmantles *Saint Genier*, and other ſmall places upon the River *Gardon*, within the Dioceſs of *Uſez*, leſt the *Romaniſts*, in his abſence, ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of them, and by ſmall Garriſons take off the contribution of all that Country which was full of good Towns; and

prejudice

prejudice the paſſage from the lower *Languedoc* to the *Sevenes*: And then engages the aforeſaid Provinces in a reſolution not to hearken to any particular Treaty, but to communicate all occurrences to him, as on his ſide, he promiſed the like, and never to conſent to any without the privity of them, all the other Provinces, *Rochelle*, and the King of *England*.

When he had taken this courſe, he comes about the beginning of *March*, with all his Forces to *Aletz*, where he was ſollicited (even to a ſedition) by the Inhabitants, to employ his Forces in taking in of *Vezenobre*, and *Monts*, two Garriſons that incommoded them; but having cleared himſelf of this importunity, he advanced. His firſt work was to ſecure the Caſtle of *Rouſſon*, lying between *Aletz*, and *Saint Ambroix*; and afterwards, in his March, takes in *Tharque*, and *Saint John de Marnefats*, two places belonging to the Marqueſs *de Portes*, which yielded at ſight of his Canon; the latter of theſe he diſmantled, but not the former, being but a ſmall Caſtle, and the uſual reſidence of the ſaid Marqueſs: Having cleared his way as far as *Bariac*, and being now upon the Confines of *Vivaretz*, he thought it neceſſary to ſecure a Paſs upon the River *Ardeche*, for the advantage both of his advance and return. To this end he beſieged the Caſtle of *Salvas*, ſituate on that River, which he blocked up with part of his Forces, whiles the other part, under the command of *Aubais*, paſſed the River, both for the convenience of quarters, and proviſions, as alſo that at the ſame time he might block up the Caſtle of *Valon* alſo: The Siege of *Salvas* laſted five dayes; for that the Canon, and other neceſſaries, to force it ſuddenly, were not yet come up; ſo that they contented themſelves with breaking ſome of their Out-works, and then had recourſe to two Mines which they ſprung, and to good effect too; the baſe Court being taken, the Garriſon retreated to the Tower, which was ſtormed on every ſide: Thoſe within behaved themſelves bravely, killed and wounded many of the Aſſailants, and among others, the Colonel *Goudin* was hurt; but the Canon came up, and did ſuch execution on them, that they were conſtrained to yield the next day after the aſſault.

Their example drew the Tower *de Moulins*, and the Caſtle of *Valon* alſo to a ſubmiſſion: The Duke cauſed the two Caſtles to be razed, preſerving only the Tower of *Moulins*, which of it ſelf was ſtrong, and tenable by a ſmall Garriſon. To ſecure this paſs, and clear all the way of *Vivaretz*, there remained only *Ville-neufve de Berg*, where the Governour *Montreal* had gotten together twelve hundred men; but notwithſtanding that, the Duke was reſolved, had it been poſſible, to attempt it; that

ſo

so he might not leave any thorns behinde him: But he wanted Ammunition, having spent his small store at the Siege of *Salvas*; where the scarcity of provisions, and the nearness of some of his men to their own homes, had much diminished his Forces; and, which was worse, so little care had the Province taken in it, that there was nothing for them about *Ville-neufve*, so that he was fain to leave his Canon at *Gorce*, and for conveniency of quarters, to March with all his Troops to *Privas*, the Countrey having not had the least thought of any thing, but how to retort the blame of their want of Provisions one upon another; so that he had much ado to keep together those Souldiers he had left. The first exploit after his arrival in the Province of *Vivarets* was the Siege of *Choumerarg*, performed by *Chevrilles*, and the Country Troops, whil'st his own refreshed themselves; it lasted three dayes, and then their Works being all battered, the place was yielded on the second of *April*.

The Duke of *Rohan*'s designs in *Vivarets*, were to place a Governour, and to compose all the divisions there; but principally to secure a good pass upon the *Rhone*, both to draw the Tribute of the River to himself, and to facilitate the March of those Forces which the Duke of *Savoy* had promised him: For which some proposed to him *Sojon*, others *la Voute*, others *Espeluche*, and *Pousin*; the inconvenience of the first was its situation, being in the higher *Vivarets*, and so remote from *Privas*, that it could not be easily removed from thence; that of the second was, that it was a place belonging to the Duke of *Ventadour*, and being of it self weak, and not capable to be made good, would drain *Privas* of all its Ammunition, and consequently draw an affront upon that place, which would ruine his reputation, both with the adverse Party, and his own too: Wherefore he pitches on the latter, and begins with *Pousin*, which when *Brison* gave it up, was dismantled; but, to prevent our re-possessing of it, the enemy had fortified a small Tower in the Castle, and raised a little Triangular Fort upon the Rivers side; he commanded *Aubais* by night, to possess himself of that part of the Suburbs which lies towards *Lauport*; and *Leques* at the same time to enter the Town: In the mean time he drew his Canon, whereupon the Fort was given up; but chiefly for that *Leques* had already taken the Tower, and from the advantages of it, and the Castle, played so furiously into the Fort, that none durst stir to shew himself in it.

Chevrilles with the Forces of the Province, at the same time besieges and takes *Saint Auban*, which obstructed the passage from *Privas* to *Pousin*; and *Malmoirac* was commanded

to poſſeſs himſelf of the Town of *Bajes*, to ſecure it with Barricadoes, and ſeize on all the Boats in the Port, which he happily effected: This done, *Aubais* received command to attempt the two Caſtles of *Bajes*, which after their diſmantling, had been again repaired; but upon the approach of the Canon, yielded: Which done, the Duke taking into his conſideration the ſituation of both places, conceived that of *Pouſin* to be the moſt convenient, both for the facility of being fortified, and the advantage it had to command the River; thither then he commanded to be brought all the Boats, and ſent *Leques* with twelve hundred men into *Dauphine*, which brought ſo great a terrour on them, that many Towns ſent him in voluntary contributions of Corn, Meal, and Bread, which was a great relief to his men, whom the avarice, and diſaffection of *Privas* had expoſed to great extremities; and, that he might loſe no time, ſets about the Fortifications, to which the Countrey contributed ſo little, that he was fain to make Collections among his own Officers to pay the Souldiers that wrought in them.

The Duke, during his abode here, ſollicites thoſe of the Religion in *Dauphine* to joyn with him; but in vain, the Count of *Soiſſons* amuſing them with hopes that he would ſhortly appear himſelf in the head of them; whereupon he ſent the Count ſome overtures to joyn with him, with four thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe in any part of *Dauphine*, he ſhould pleaſe to appoint; and that if he would bring but as many, he would engage himſelf in a ſhort time to make him Maſter of the greateſt part of *Dauphine*; but he had no other return than empty words, and complementary thanks, which made him think that the Count had rather make an inglorious peace with thoſe he declared to be his enemies, than engage in an honourable War againſt them.

Whil'ſt he ſtayed at *Pouſin*, he alſo received intelligence from the Duke of *Soubize* by *Carlincas*, that the Fleet deſigned to bring the Corn to *Rochelle*, would be there towards the latter end of *May*; but the other, from which they expected their entire deliverance, not till after the Harveſt. *Chevrilles*, who ſaw the ſtreights the Duke of *Rohan*'s Forces were in, for want of proviſions, propoſes him to an attempt upon *Cheilard*, a ſmall Town, belonging to the Duke of *Ventadour*, and ſeated upon the Confines of *Vellay*; it has large Suburbs, and a Caſtle, that commands them: All the Inhabitants of this, and the neighbouring places, are of the Religion, and till now had been ſeverely perſecuted by their Lord, even in times of peace; in order to the effecting of this deſign, he demands of him two Regiments, which were granted him. The Town he took with Bi-

tarder,

tardes, and with the two aforesaid Regiments invested a Castle, called *La' Cheze* which is about a Canon-shot distant from *Cheilard*, and upon the sight of two Faucons that were drawn up to it, was given up; with these Gunnes he begins to play upon the Works of the Castle of *Cheilard*; but the Pieces being not sufficient for Battery, he was fain to send to *Privas* for some bigger.

During this Siege, the Duke had intelligence from all parts, of the Duke of *Montmorency*'s arrival in the higher *Languedoc*, who raised all the Forces he could to set upon him in his Marches, or to cut off his passage by taking *Barjac*: This newes made him resolve, no longer to defer his return; wherefore he writes to *Chevrilles*, that in case the Castle of *Cheilard* was not taken by a day, which he prefixed, he should send back the two Regiments; which so quickned his diligence in the enterprise, that the place was taken within the time limited him: And the Duke having given order for the razing of all the places he had taken, except *Pousin*; and left *Chevrilles* in a firm possession of his Government, sets out from *Privas* upon *Easter* day, and encamps that night below *Mirabel*; and as he was marching thence the next Morning by break of day, *Aubais*, that led the Van, informed him that the enemy appeared, both Horse and Foot, about *Saint Germain*, a large Town, indifferently well fortified, and distant about a quarter of a league from *Ville-neufve*; whence they also drew out fresh Souldiers: They were all the forces that *Ventadour* and *Montreall* could make in that Countrey, which alarmed not the Duke at all, while he was employed about those small Sieges. They made choice of that place, as the most advantageous for them, the passage being strait, and the Dukes Forces of necessity to pass within a Musquet shot of the Town, the passages to which, were very commodious to lodge Musquetiers in: But the Duke of *Montmorency*, being half a dayes March short of them, they only made a little skirmish, which made the Duke of *Rohan* desirous to pursue them, and force the Town, which he might have done, but was happily disswaded from it, lest the Duke of *Montmorency* with his fresh Forces should surprize him, while he was engaged, which would certainly have happened; for he came to *Ville-neufve* about two houres after they had got ten over the pass, which was done with very good conduct and order; in this Rencontre there were some slain, and wounded on both sides: After this no enemy appeared; but the Duke when he came to *Gorze*, took his Canon, which he drew back to *Anduze*, where he gave his Troops some refreshment, which they very much wanted.

Mean while the Prince of *Condé* and the Duke of *Montmorency* joyning their Forces take the field, and march into *Foix* to attempt *Pamiez*, a great Town, but of no ſtrength: The ill deſtiny of *Beaufort* impelled him to a reſolution of defending it; to which end he calls in all his own, and moſt of the Forces of the Countrey; but, a breach being made, their confuſion was too great to give them leave to think of any further reſiſtance; thoſe that were falſe among them, uſing all means to augment the others fear: *Beaufort* ſeeing this diſorder, endeavoured to ſave himſelf by flight, together with *Auros*, but they were both taken, carried to *Thoulouſe*, and there put to death: The town was pillaged, and all manner of licentious cruelties imaginable from Souldiers under ſuch a Commander, were exerciſed in it: The taking of this Town much diſmayed the whole Countrey, where no place eſcaped the attempts either of threats, or promiſes; but the courage and fidelity of *Rouſſeliere*, whom the Duke of *Rohan* had made Governour of *Saverdun*, together with his ſedulous induſtry to encourage others preſerved the Province; and the Prince marched back, with his Army, into the upper *Languedoc*: Then was the Duke of *Montmorency* fain to return to *Vivarez*, to the aſſiſtance of his Partiſans there; and the Duke of *Rohan* was with no leſs inſtances ſollicited by the higher *Languedoc*, to the ſame purpoſe.

The Prince his firſt exploit was the Siege of *Realmont*, a Town whoſe ſituation rendred it very conſiderable; well ſtored with Souldiers, and all ſorts of Proviſions, and which might have held out much longer, and very well expected the relief preparing for it: But neither did he begin the ſiege, till he had Treated with *Maugis* who was Governour of it; who, having corrupted the firſt Conſul, the Colonel *Chaumette*, and his Sergeant Major, and made ſome ſhew of oppoſition for ten or twelve dayes, without any breach made, or conſulting with his Captains, or the people, contrary to the Oaths they were mutually engaged in, at the enemies firſt coming before it, not ſo much as to make the leaſt mention of ſurrendring, enters into a Capitulation, ſignes it, and preſents it to the Town; who refuſing to approve of it, he lets in the Beſiegers at a Port, which was at his own devotion, whiles the reſt were every one at their reſpective poſts; ſo that great was the confuſion there, and though by the Capitulation the Defendants ought to have marched off with their armes, yet was that violated, and they diſarmed. *Sigalon*, and *Huguet*, two of *Chaumett's* Captains, with ſome other honeſt Inhabitants of the place, maintained a *Baſtion*, reſolutely declaring to the World, that they had rather dye than

than quit their armes, which they carryed off, and with them as much honour due to their bravery, as the others did infamy, merited by their baſeneſs. Great were the miſeries of this poor Town, whence Men, and Women ſtript, and without any other covering than their diſchevelled haire, came to *Roque-Courbe*; where *Saint Germier*, and *L' Eſpuguet*, who had the conduct of the affairs of thoſe of the Reformed Party in thoſe parts, by means of the Correſpondents they had in *Caſtres*, made uſe of this Barbariſme to provoke the people to an Inſurrection, which had ſo proſperous an event, that notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Preſident *Montespieu*, of the Advocate General, the Conſuls, and their adherents, the Walls were ſcaled, and the Town without the effuſion of any blood taken, and the Preſident, and the Advocate baniſhed thence. *Chavagnac* at the ſame time came very opportunely into the Countrey, ſent thither by the Duke of *Rohan* to command in chief there, where he was received, and, even in *Caſtres* it ſelf, with an univerſal Joy.

For beſides the delight all Novelties uſually bring with them, the preſent ſtate of affaires required a Governour; otherwiſe the Prince had carried all the Mountain of *Albigeois* before him; whereas now the greateſt miſchief ſuffered there was the loſs of *Cauve*, which the Marqueſs of *Malauze* cauſed to be delivered up to him, in which place, contrary to his promiſe, he left a Gariſon: After this he made an offer at *Viane*, blocked it up, and raiſed a battery againſt it; but ſeeing that neither his threats nor promiſes made any impreſſion on the Beſieged; and that the Governour *Eſeroux*, and *Aſſas*, whom the Duke of *Roban* had ſent thither with four hundred men, ſeemed to be ſuch as would give him a ſmart oppoſition, he raiſed his ſiege; and thence goes to attempt *Caſtelnau* and *Braſſac*, places of no ſtrength, but ſurpriſeable even by unarmed men; Nevertheleſs the former gave him the trouble to draw down his Canon, where the obſtinacy of ſome, occaſioned the loſs of forty or fifty good Souldiers, who choſe rather to ſubmit to all extremities, than to obſerve the Orders given them by *Chavagnac*, to draw off as ſoon as they ſaw the Enemies Canon, which they might have eaſily done: This done, the Prince, not daring any more to look towards *Viane*, ſends *Linas* to *Saint Sever*, a place of which he himſelf was Lord, to perſwade the Inhabitants to ſubmit before he drew down his Canon; but ſeeing how ineffectual all his perſwaſions proved, he ſtayes there with them; where, after they had endured many Volleys of Canon ſhot, themſelves made a breach in the Wall, and eſcaped by night. Thence he

goes to a Conference with the Duke d' *Espernon*, at which they resolved on the Siege of *Saint Affrique*.

But before we pass into the higher *Languedoc*, it will be expedient that we speak a word or two of *Montauban*: This Town, though it was then governed by Consuls, and other Magistrates that were great Enemies to the Reformed Party, had nevertheless great inclinations to joyn with them: This, the Duke of *Rohan* himself at first hindred, being not willing they should declare before he came to them; and when after his return from the voyage of *Foix*, he desired them so to do, nothing obstructed it, but their want of a Governour; Whereupon the best part of the Town casting their eyes upon *Saint Michel*, a younger brother of *La Roche Chalais*, and of Kin to the Duke of *Rohan*, who applauded their choice, they received him into their Town about *May*, and there, after that *de Bergues*, and *Saint Foy*, through many difficulties, and great dangers, had conducted thither, from the lower *Guienne*, fourscore, or an hundred Horse, and *Viane* a Company of Foot, and that he had all his necessary Provisions ready, on the four and twentieth day of *June*, they put him in possession of his Command. The first thing he did, was to order all things in a Military way; raising a Regiment composed of Volunteers, such as had Asyled themselves there; and inrolling also in the establishment, those Horse that *de Bergues* had brought thither.

But before he could well settle himself in his authority he met with many rubbs, having for enemies, not only those that were of a contrary Party, but, even among his own, many rivals for the place, who under-hand did him many ill Offices; Some of these he surmounted by prudence and dissimulation; and to others he was fain to apply open force, and the extremity of rigor. The most eminent example of which, was occasioned by three young Souldiers, Natives of the Town, whose names were *Cortié*, *La Forest*, and *Brete*, who disgusted at a denial of some Offices they sued for, or else set on by some others envious of his honour, entred into a conspiracy against his person, and to compass their design make a Party in the Town, to which they drew in many Giddy braines, and among them some of quality, as the Sonnes of the Advocate *Clerk*, and the Counsellour *de la Rose*, which gave greater suspitions that this business was fomented by other persons, who, though they appeared not at all in it, yet were they the principal Agents. The pretence of this conjuration was the publique liberty, by which means having raised many of the people, they shew themselves in the head of them, with their Swords and Pistols in their hands, and in them equi-

equipage march to the Governours quarters, crying out *Liberty, Liberty!* and that it was high time to rid themselves of those that oppressed it: When they came near to his door, they were stopped by some of his guard, who so gallantly behaved themselves in the defence of it, that they killed five or six of the Mutiniers, and among others *Clerk*, and *La Rosse*: The tumult spreading it self in the Town, the Consuls, with a great number of the Inhabitants, haste down to the Governours; to whom when *Saint Michel* had recounted the Action, and justified the procedure of his Souldiers, all were well satisfied; and the Consuls causing the said *Cartie*, *La Foreſt*, and *Brete*, Authours of the sedition to be apprehended, they were tryed, and condemned by the Council of Warre, which in favour of their relations in the Town, instead of hanging, caused them to be shot to death.

Saint Michel, whom this example of Justice had now fixed in his authority, thinks of enlarging his quarters; and conceiving himself strong enough in Souldiers, by reason of those that were fled thither for shelter, he undertook to put the Town of *Cuaſade* in a posture of defence; and having put *Chaſillon* a Gentleman of *Angoulmois* with eight hundred good men into it, he used such diligence in his fortifications, that in a very short space the place was made tenable; This the Prince, and the Duke *d' Eſpernon* had intended to besiege, but were diverted by the Siege of *Creſeil*, which drew away the Prince with his Forces, so that the Duke *d' Eſpernon* was unwilling to engage alone in the Siege, but endeavoured to contrive some intelligences, and correspondencies within, that might help him to surprize it, in which even the Minister of that Church, whose name was *Le Grand*, who had deserted it in the very beginning of the troubles, was his great Assistant, informing him of the condition of the Town, and perswading him, as much as in him lay, to attempt it; but finding his design not feisible that way, he contented himself only with an assault, which he caused to be made on the out-works, where he was so generously received, that, leaving many dead upon the place, and some Garisons in the adjacent Towns, he drew away again.

But return we now to the Duke of *Rohan*, who, from the beginning of the Siege of *Realmont*, was extreamly importuned to relieve it; for which he was diligently preparing himself; but after it was taken, he was as earnestly sollicited to march towards the higher *Languedoc*, so that there passed not a week in which he received not two or three dispatches, to that effect: On the other side he found he should have much ado to gaine his Souldiers

diers conſent to it; for that their late ſufferings in *Vivarets* gave them cauſe to fear they ſhould meet with no better entertainment in this Voyage; ſo that to allure them to it, he reſolves on a deſign upon *Mirveis*, a place upon the Borders of *Roüergue*, ſtrong, and of great concernment to the *Sevenes*, where he knew all the Countrey would come in to him; aſſuring himſelf withal, that, whatever his ſucceſs ſhould be in the attempt, having by this means drawn his men half way, he ſhould with more facility perſwade them to adventure on the reſt.

Wherefore he ſends for *le Feſque*, who firſt moved this deſign to him, and perſwaded him, that in taking the Town, he ſhould alſo ſurprize the Captain of the Caſtle, and at one ſtroke carry both: He gave him Orders to take as many Souldiers as he thought he ſhould have occaſion for; but at the time appointed for the execution of it, ſo violent and tempeſtuous was the weather upon the Mountain *de l' Eſpernon*, the place of Rendez-vous, that many of the Souldiers (though it was then Summer) died of the cold; ſo that they were faine to put it off till another time; which gave the enemy ſome jealouſie of their intentions, and thoſe in the Caſtle leaſure to furniſh themſelves with many neceſſaries, and eſpecially to recruit their gariſons with Souldiers: Notwithſtanding all which *Le Feſque* returnes thither again within two dayes, and fixing four Petardes to it, carried the Town: But, inſtead of preſently inveſting the Caſtle, and ſecuring the Corn for the nouriſhment of the Army, every one fell a pillaging, and in the mean time the *Chevalier Chambour*, with fifty men, got into it.

The Duke of *Rohan* in the mean time expecting the iſſue of this deſign at *Niſmes*, gave Orders for the raiſing of the Militia of the *Sevenes*, and principally of the two Regiments of *Valeſcure*, and *La Roque*, and ſent away thoſe of *Laſſayre*, and *Brenoux*, commanding them by ſeveral wayes to march towards *Mirveis*, and, upon the firſt notice of the taking of the Town, to inveſt the Caſtle, and draw thither the ſmall Canon that was at *Vigan*: He ſent away alſo *Goudin*'s Regiment to *Barjac*, which the Duke of *Montmorency* hovered about, as if he had ſome deſign upon it; with Orders alſo, in caſe neceſſity ſo required, to march into *Vivaretz*.

This done, he receives advice of the taking of *Mirveis*, and the diſorders there committed: Whereupon he departs from *Niſmes*, and ſteering his courſe thitherward, ſent *Leques* poſt before him to compoſe and order all things there; When he came to *Vigan*, he met with a diſpatch from the higher *Languedoc*,

dot, preſſing him more inſtantly than ever to haſten thither, otherwiſe the whole Countrey was in danger to be loſt; whereupon he ſent away *Aubais* with the Regiments of *Sandres*, *Fourniquet*, and *Bimart*, and three Troops of Horſe: When *Leques* came to *Mirveis*; conceiving, that that Caſtle was not to be forced by ſo mean a Train of Artillery as they had there, he commands the Canon to be drawn to *Nujolls*, to ſecure a Caſtle ſtanding upon a paſs of great importance, which upon the approach of it preſently yielded.

After this, comes the Duke himſelf to *Mirveis*, and being of opinion with *Leques* that there was no taking of the Caſtle without a bigger piece of battery: Thoſe that were at *Millaud* were propoſed, as the neareſt and moſt eaſie to be drawn thither: Thither then he goes with a ſufficient Convoy for them, but found it abſolutely impoſſible to bring them; wherefore he commands *Leques*, by a Letter, to ſend with all ſpeed to *Anduze* for the Culverin of *Niſmes*; And in the interim determines to go himſelf to *Saint Afrique*, upon report of the Siege of *Viane*, which the Prince pretended to attempt; but as he was ready to ſet out, he received a Letter from *Leques*, which informed him, that upon a bruit ſpread among the Troops at *Mirveis* that he was going towards *Caſtres*, and that there was a great relief preparing for the Caſtle, very many of the Souldiers had left their Colours, that the Inhabitants of the Town had ſent away their goods, and that unleſs his ſudden return thither prevented it, he would finde the Siege totally abandoned: This made him face about with all ſpeed; and finding that the Letter he had written to *Leques* was fallen into the enemies hands, he ſent another to *Anduze* for the great Culverin; and reſolved now to ſee what would be the event of this Siege: In order to which he plants his Canon, and with them batters the Outworks that he might the more eaſily (in caſe there ſhould be occaſion for it) come to mining; and as he was giving Orders to ſtorm the Caſtle-works the night following, there came Newes that there was a very conſiderable Body forming for the relief of *Mirveis*; that all *Larzac* and *Roüergue* flocked in to them; that there were twelve hundred drawn out of the Gariſon of *Montpellier*, and that from *Beziers* and *Gignac*, were ſent many Souldiers alſo; and that their Rendez-vous was to be at *Peiros*, two Leagues diſtant from *Mirveis*: In effect the thing was very true, and moreover the Baron *Puzols*, who commanded the Duke of *Montmorency*'s Life-Guard, was already come thither with three hundred Horſe, to undertake the charge of the whole relief which conſiſted of about two thouſand Foot; This made

made the Duke defer the forming of the Caſtle, that he might provide to repel theſe ſuccours; to which end he ſpent all that night in cutting a Trench acroſs the hill, the only way they had to relieve the Caſtle, and cauſed his Canon to be drawn into a Redout; the next morning, the Majors General *Leques* and *Buiſſiere*, viſit all the quarters, cauſe the Redout, and Trenches to be well-manned, and Ammunition to be delivered out to the Souldiers, and alſo give all neceſſary inſtructions to the Colonels; the Duke of *Roban* himſelf ſtayes in the Parade place with *Montredon*, the Volunteers, two Troops of horſe-men, whom he had commanded to alight, his own Guards, and *La Baume*, with two hundred of his own Regiment, that he might be ready upon all occaſions, to ſend relief to thoſe that ſhould need it; about Noon the *Scouts* give notice of the *Romaniſts* approach, and ſuddenly every one betakes him to his Poſt, when preſently after they ſhew themſelves upon the top of a hill, whence they ſent down five hundred men in two diviſions, which advanced boldly, and in good order up to our very Canon, which gave them a very harſh ſalute; beſides which, they ſaw the Trenches well ſtored with men, and on the right, and left hand, Regiments marching up the Hill to environ them; this put them upon as ſudden and nimble a retreat; being followed with Volleys of Muſquet ſhot, up to the top of the Hill, where preſently all diſappeared, and by the diſorder was to be ſeen among them, might be rather conjectured to flie, than to retreat: The next day every one took his own way, and the Duke returned to the intended aſſault; battering, the night following, the *Paliſſadoes* of the Counterſcarſe, all which were broken down; and then drew up to the very Graffe, from whence he beat the Defendants off their Works; who as he was approaching to the Wall, beat a parley, which they obtained, together with very honourable conditions. This Siege laſted three weeks; and when the Caſtle was delivered, there marched out one hundred and thirty Souldiers, that wanted neither Ammunition, nor proviſion.

When the Prince had notice of the reddition of *Mirveis*, and that the fifteen Companies drawn out of *Montpellier*, were upon their March to joyn with him, he reſolved with the Duke of *Rohan*, upon the Siege of *Saint Affrique*; which when the Duke of *Roban* was informed of, he would have gone to *Millaud*; but the next day, after the reddition of *Mirveis*, finding that he had no more than eight hundred men left, the reſt being gone to refreſh themſelves, he was forced to go to *Vigan*; after he had gotten an engagement from them, that within ten days they ſhould be all ready at any Rendezvous he ſhould appoint them,

them, to go to the relief of *Saint Afrique*; he ſent diſpatches alſo to *Niſmes*, and *Vſez*, from whence he received a very good recruit.

In this interval, the Duke of *Rohan* had notice of what became of the ſecond Fleet, which was diſpatched from *England*, to ſupply *Rochelle* with proviſions, untill the greater, deſigned for its entire deliverance, could be made ready. The ſtory is this, The Duke of *Soubize*, ſeconded by the Deputies, and Merchants of *Rochelle* that were then in *England*, urges the King with ſuch earneſt and aſſiduous importunities, that he reſolved upon the victualling of *Rochelle*; for which, when all things were in a readineſs, the Duke of *Buckingham* offered him the command of the Fleet; but underſtanding that there were but five men of War deſigned for their Convoy, and perceiving by ſo ſlender a proviſion of ſhips of war, that he intended to draw an affront, together with the whole blame of the *Rochellers* upon him, he refuſes to accept it, but declared withall, that if he would go in perſon, he would be ready to accompany him: Upon this his refuſal, the Duke of *Buckingham* re-inforces the Fleet with five great ſhips more, and many other men of War; and being raiſed to the number of ſeventy in all, on the 17th. day of *May*, he ſent them orders to hoiſe Sail, which they did under the command of his brother-in-Law, the Earle of *Denbigh*; ſoon as the enemy deſcryed them, they weigh Anchor, as if they intended to advance, and fight them; but on the ſudden tacked about again towards the ſame place from whence they came. *Bragueau* took a French Pinnace at *Sablenceau*, where the Earle caſt Anchor ſo near the Shore, that he thence received a Canon-ſhot into his own ſhip, which made him weigh Anchor again, and with the whole Navy remove to ride at a greater diſtance from the enemies Canon. Many dayes were ſpent in debates, and reſolutions never executed; ſo that ſome Merchants, that were there, urged him to attempt either to fight, or paſs by them; but his Captains ſtiffely maintained that it could not be done, without expoſing the *Engliſh* Forces to too great a hazard; only the *Vice-admiral*, and one Captain *Carre*, ſhowed more forwardneſs, and loudly exclaimed againſt the ſlackneſs of all the reſt: Whereupon the *French* that were then in the Fleet, to the number of two or three and twenty ſhips, and *Barques* drew up together, and ſeeing the backwardneſs of the others to reſolve on any thing, come in a Body to the Earle of *Denbigh*, and preſent him a Petition ſigned by them all, by which they beſeeched him to grant them four Merchant men fitted for a fight, three fire-ſhips, and Souldiers to guard thoſe ſhips that carried the proviſions, obliging themſelves with that equipage to get into the town,

and

and promising moreover, both in their own, and the names of the *Rochellers*, that in case any of those ships miscarried in the adventure, they should be payed for, according to a just estimation of their value. But to all this they received no answer, but evasions, and denials; whereupon the *French* sent *Gobert*, to the King of great *Britain*, with their complaints, and withall, to discover to him the facility of the passage, and the offers they had made: Mean while the Captain *Videau* takes a small Boat, and in it passes the *Bay* by night, carrying to the besieged a letter from *Bragneau*, which advised them not to rely any longer on hopes of relief from the *English*, who, at the same time, without any further attempt made, weighed Anchor, steering their course home-wards: When they came to the Isle of *Wight*, they cast Anchor there, and thence sent their Apologies into *England* before them, grounded upon the impossibility of the enterprise, and the tenour of their Commission, whose most substantial words, and which imported a permission to fight, they pretended were interlined, although it was with the Kings own hand.

These excuses were easily admitted by the Duke, and those of his Gang, though others deduced from them but sad consequences for the *Rochellers*, that poor and miserable people, that with such transports of joy beheld the arrival of the Fleet, with no less astonishment saw it lie idle for eight dayes entire, and then leave them in a greater dejection than before; and yet having received so many promises, and assurances of relief, could they not give credit to their Admirals Letter, but prepare a new dispatch to the King of *England*; who upon the newes of the Fleets return, assembles his Council, and resolves to send back *Gobert* to the Earle of *Denbigh* with new Orders to return again to the Rode of *Rochelle*, and there to expect a Renfort. About which time also came *Bragneau* with newes of the Fleets return, and two dayes after *Clarke*, who was sent to be of the Earles Councel, and Agent for the King in *Rochelle*, who when he had given in his relation of the affair, had his own house for his prison: But to hasten away this new relief for the distressed *Rochellers*, Orders were given to Captain *Manners*, & Captain *Pennington*, to expedite the building of ten great ships, of fifteen hundred, or two thousand Tun-burthen, made purposely to fight near the shore, not drawing more than seven or eight foot-water, and carrying two and twenty Guns a piece: The Duke of *Buckingham*, who desired not that any one should pry too narrowly into the projects he had against *Rochelle*, removed from the Court a Secretary that was very zealous for its deliverance, causing him to be sent to *Portsmouth* to prepare other Vessels, and buy Provisions, and Ammunition there, where he stayed till the departure of the Fleet, But

But let us now ſee what paſſed at the Siege of *Saint Afrique*, a ſmall Town, lying between two hills that command it, ſo that nothing can be done within, that may not from thence be diſcovered; neither did any till this time, ever think of fortifying it: But yet the importance of the place for preſerving the Communication between the higher, and the lower *Languedoc* obliged us to break the ground, which is there very maniable: But never did that Town expect the honour of an aſſault from the firſt Prince of the blood: The River *Sorgue* runs under the walls of it, and divides it from that part of the Suburbs, that lies towards *Vabre*, which of neceſſity was to be fortified alſo, it being eaſie for the enemy to make his approaches that way, and for that the River beating againſt the Walls, would not give way to any nearer fortifications on that ſide: The whole fortification of this Suburbs was compoſed of Spurs, and little Flanquers, whoſe Trenches were four fathom wide, and the Parapet Canon-proof, behind it was nothing but a ſmall bank inſtead of a Rampart; all that gave us hopes to be able to defend it, was, that there was room enough for us to intrench our ſelves behind it; beſides, ſo ſtrangely odde was the ſituation of that place, that without a great Army, there was no hindering of relief from coming to it, both from *Millaud*, *Saint Rome*, *Tarn*, and the Bridge of *Cauvers*.

Aubais, who was advanced as far as the ſaid Bridge, that he might have an eye upon *Viaue*, when he ſaw the Army bind its courſe towards *Roüergue*, divided his Forces into two parts, reſerving the ſtronger to himſelf, and ſending the other to *Saint Afrique*, which the Prince came before on the eight and twentieth day of *May*; and having viewed it, conceived it untenable, and at that inſtant condemned it to the fire, and all manner of extremities; nor yet indeed was it to be defended, but by a great number of men: *Aubais* very handſomly did his devoir, ſending them from his quarters, as many men, and as much powder as they deſired: *La Baume*, whom the Duke of *Rohan* had left with his Regiment at *Millaud*, for the ſame purpoſe did the like; ſo that in the very height of the Siege, there was no want of any thing; but there happening a difference between *Vacareſſe*, and *Bimart*, *Saint Eſtienne*, and *Sandres* were fain to interpoſe, and reconcile them, who afterwards did very good ſervice in the ſtorm. The approaches, batteries, and breaches, being all made within the ſpace of eight or ten dayes, the Prince commands his men to make ready for the aſſault, and thoſe within alſo prepare to give him a brave reception; who, though they had very good Works and Trenches, would not yet loſe one inch of ground: There were within the Town, beſides the

Foot

Foot, the Baron *d' Aletz*, and *Saint Eſtienne*'s Troops of horſe; the beſt armed among them were placed at the Breaches, and all the other poſts were well manned alſo: The whole Garriſon conſiſted of fifteen hundred fighting men; the ſtorm laſted five houres, was thrice renewed, and during it, one *Culverin* diſcharged about ſixty ſhot upon one of the Breaches, which carried off ſome legs, and armes; but could not ſave the Aſſailants from a repulſe, who left four hundred dead upon the place, among which were *La Paſſe*, and *La Magdaline*, two Captains, and fourty other Officers, not comprising thoſe that were wounded; of the Defendants there were ſlain about eight and twenty, and threeſcore hurt.

The morrow after the aſſault was made, came both from *Millaud*, and the Bridge *de Canvers*, four hundred men more to *Saint Afrique*: The news of this quickly flew to the Duke of *Rohan*, at *Mirveis*, where he had three thouſand Foot, and made what haſt he could thither; having given order that *Chavagnac*, with the Forces of *Albigeois*, ſhould joyn with *Aubais*, and fall upon the enemy on one ſide, while he did the like on the other; and the beſieged, at the ſame time, were to make a ſally upon their Canon: But that which he feared, came to paſs, to wit, the Prince his raiſing the Siege: Then had the Duke a fair opportunity to purſue him, and then thought of nothing that would prevent it: But the affairs of *Caſtres* ſummoned him thither, where *Saint Germier*, induced to it, by thoſe that were diſaffected to the Reformed party, oppoſed *Chavagnac* in his command: Thoſe of *Foix* required his preſence, to remedy the diſorders fallen out there ſince the death of *Beaufort*; the Town of *Villaude* would by all means that he ſhould ſit down before *Creſſeil*, and ſent Deputies purpoſely to ſollicite him to to that effect; and on the other ſide, the Siege of *Saint Afrique* being now over, no body would ſtir a foot further; all alledging the neceſſity of their return, to look after their Harveſts, eſpecially thoſe of *Niſmes*, and *Uſez*, whoſe fields were threatned to be ravaged; and beſides theſe, there were in the Army many Citizens, and Merchants, too delicate, long to endure the hardſhip of an Army: *Vivarets* alſo cryed out for help, the Duke of *Montmorency* being fallen into that Province, with a ſtrong power: *Lyonnois* alſo with *Dauphiné*, *Vivarets*, and the lower *Languedoc*, importuned him to free the *Rhone*; on which the Duke had already beſieged *Pouſin*, and battered *Mirabel*.

Amidſt theſe urgent ſollicitations on all hands, the Duke, it being impoſſible for him to divide himſelf amongſt them all, returns to the lower *Languedoc*; ſends *Aubais* to *Caſtres*, to com-

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poſe the diviſions there, and deſigns *Saint Eſtienne* with his Troop for *Foix*; whiles he with the reſt of his Forces, to divert the Duke of *Montmorency* from *Vivarets*, goes to *Vezenobre*, which by a long March he ſurprized, ſo diſfurniſhed of men, that having with one Petard, taken the Town, the night following he raiſed his Battery, and the next morning began to play upon the Caſtle, which he took by aſſault; but gave quarter to all in it.

This Siege wrought the wiſhed effect; for the Duke of *Montmorency*, after he had taken *Mirabel*, inſtead of continuing his progreſs in *Vivarets*, marched off to relief *Vezenobre*, which he thought would have held out much longer; but finding the buſineſs already over, he drew off to *Beaucaire*; and the Duke of *Rohan*, when he had given order for ſlighting of *Vezenobre*, diſmiſſed his Volunteers, put his other Regiments into Garriſons, and goes himſelf to *Niſmes*, to put them in a poſture to prevent the ſpoil the Duke of *Montmorency* had command to make there; but had written to the Court, that he could not undertake it with leſs than ſix thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe; for which care was taken, and he ſupplied with three Regiments from *Dauphine*, and ſome Horſe drawen out of the Army, the Marqueſs of *Vxelles* was then conducting to the relief of *Cazal*: Theſe preparations made *Niſmes*, and *Vſez* look about them, and promiſe good quarters to all the Horſe and Foot ſhould come in to their aſſiſtance: The Duke of *Rohan* writ to thoſe of the *Sevenes*, to this effect; but they came not ſo ſoon as they promiſed; nor did thoſe of *Niſmes* gratifie them as they ought; Nevertheleſs he goes to ſee what might be done, and promiſes to preſerve all their Corn, within a League of their Town, to wit, that which lies upon the *Viſtre* (which is the richeſt land about *Niſmes*) a ſmall, but dangerous River; all whoſe paſſes he ſpoyles, and in all places of danger cauſed good Redoubts to be built; but as for the reſt of their Fields, there was no poſſibility of preſerving them: And yet, had the Peaſants obſerved what was commanded them, which was, to leave their Sheaves ſcattered upon the ground, they had ſaved a great part of them; which being made up in ſtacks, and the enemy coming to forrage at the time they uſually threſh out their Corn, (which is there done in the Fields) they were all eaſily conſumed.

The Duke of *Montmorency* takes up his firſt quarters at *Saint Margueriete*, a good league from *Niſmes*; and the next day leaving it on his left hand, came and lodged at *Chaumette*, and *Saint Genies*, three leagues diſtant from *Niſmes*, and as farre from *Vſez*: Thence paſſes through the Towns upon

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the *Gardon*, and ſo gets into *Vauvage*, and took up his laſt quarters at *Bernis* and *Vebas*.

In this march, which laſted ſix or ſeven dayes, he burnt much Corn, and alſo many Villages; which done, he retires to *Beaucaire* (having not at all entred into the Territories of *Niſmes*) and the Troops of *Dauphine* returned to joyn with the Marqueſs of *Uxelles*, all the Voluntiers went home; the forces of the lower *Languedoc* were ſent into Gariſons, and the Duke of *Montmorency* himſelf went to *Bezieres* and *Pezenas*.

About this time came a Gentleman from the King of *England* to the Duke, which diſpatch was occaſioned by an apprehenſion given him, that ſince the return of the ſecond Fleet, there were two Deputies with the Duke of *Rohan*, in order to a Treaty for peace; to divert which, he was commanded to tell him, that though that Fleet after an ineffectual Voyage were returned, yet there was now ſo ſtrong a one prepared, and ready to ſet Saile, that he was confident it would be the entire deliverance of *Rochelle*; and that though God ſhould not favour him in that attempt, yet would he never forſake the reſt of the Reformed Party; Nay, although there ſhould be no more left than the very perſon of the Duke, he aſſured him he would hazard all that he was Maſter of, for the preſervation of that alone; deſiring further to know of him what hopes he had of aſſiſtance from *Italy* and *Spaine*, that in caſe the King ſhould preſs him too hard, he might be directed by him how to aſſiſt him, either by a diverſion or otherwiſe: *David*, one of the Deputies of *Rochelle* was preſent at the delivery of this Meſſage: To which the Duke replied, that he was ſo far from any thoughts of a Treaty, that he had again cauſed the Oath of Union to be renewed, to this effect, that none ſhould hearken to any peace, but conjoyntly with him; and that he had already made known to him, the means he had to aſſiſt him.

This done, the Duke ſeeing the Duke of *Montmorency's* Troops lay ſcattered and diſperſed in ſeveral parts, takes his turn alſo, and burnt all the Corn, and Countrey Houſes belonging to the Inhabitants of *Beaucaire*, within Muſquet ſhot of their very walls: And when he thought to make another inrode into the *Mariſh-Countrey* for Salt, he met, in a narrow place upon the *Rhone*, nearer home, two Barques convoyed by a Frigote, and laden with four and twenty thouſand *French* Buſhels, ſo that commanding ſome of his Souldiers to ſwim to the other ſide for a Boat, he tranſported many of his Foot to *Camargues*, that he might on both ſides attaque the Frigote; but ſhe ſoon forſook her Merchandize, which was as quickly carried away: Beſides

ſides this booty, they drove much Cattle from *Camargues*, and did much ſpoyle there alſo by fire. When the Duke of *Montmorency* heard of theſe excurſions, he made haſte to rally his forces, appointing them their Rendez-vous at *Lunel*. The Duke, in this expedition, going, and returning, marched above fourteen long Leagues, without making any long ſtay in any place, and got home again before any of the enemy could be gotten together; And happy was it for him; for he was but in an ill condition to fight; every Souldier being ſo laden with pillage, that he could never get any more to march in order, than three hundred ſouldiers, of *la Baume*'s Regiment, which brought up the Rear.

When this expedition was over, the Duke was in great perplexities, not knowing how to diſpoſe of his Forces, eſpecially his Horſe: For he could now raiſe no more contributions for their maintenance, by reaſon that the Villages were all burnt: And the *Sevenes* was no Countrey for Horſe: If he ſhould go towards *Caſtres*, there was the Prince with his Army in the higher *Languedoc*, who had particular Orders to impede his paſſage; and the Duke of *Montmorency* had alſo a ſtrict Command, with his Forces to follow him, whither ever he ſhould go: For it was feared leſt he ſhould go to *Montauban*, and raiſe thoſe of the Religion in *Guienne* in favour of the *Engliſh*, whoſe coming they feared: If he went into *Rouergue* to no other end but to eat them up, it would not be long ere their cryes would be heard; ſo that neceſſity now obliged him to undertake the ſiege of *Creſeil*.

But before we go thither, it will not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of *Aubais* his return to *Caſtres*; who though he made but a ſeeming accommodation between *Saint Germier* and *Chavagnac*, the cauſe of the miſunderſtanding ſtill remaining, and fomenting their conceived rancour one againſt the other; ſo that the pretended reconciliation laſted not long; nevertheleſs his being there was to great purpoſe to oppoſe thoſe that came to forrage and plunder thoſe parts, where his brother *Saint Eſtienne* was unhappily ſlain, by their own Canon, which being not well ſponged, as they were re-charging it, the Powder took fire, and killed him: He was a Gentleman of great courage, and zeal for his party, and was the next day to have gone into *Foix*, where they ſtood in great need of him.

The Marqueſs of *Ragny*, who commanded the Prince his Army, and had much ravaged the Countrey, goes, for his laſt exploit, to burn *Mazamet*, and to beſiege *Hautpont*, whither *Dupuy*, a gallant Souldier, with the Inhabitants of *Mazamet*,

were retired; but having, to no purpose, lain before it for the space of twelve dayes; he drew off to *Brugiere*, where he dyed.

And here it will be expedient to insert a word or two concerning *Clausel*, who coming from *Piedmont*, made the Duke of *Rohan* some propositions of assistance from *Spaine*; which, if demanded, he was confident he might have freely, and in a large measure; for that having conferred about it with the *Spanish* Embassadour in *Piedmont*, he had given him very good hopes of it; telling him moreover, that it was the Interest of *Spaine*, to endeavour a prolongation of the Civil Wars in *France*; that they might with more ease compass their designs in *Italy*; that the Abbot *Scaglia*, the Duke of *Savoy*'s Embassadour, was now in *Spaine*, and would contribute his utmost power to assist him in it; having already in *England*, and elsewhere, declared himself a great favourer of the Reformed Party, out of his implacable hatred to those that govern now in *France*.

The great exigencies the Duke was in for want of money, the Countrey being unable, and the Towns unwilling to furnish him any more; neither could he expect any from *England*; nor had he received any thing from the Duke of *Savoy*, but empty promises, enforced him to seek out some way or other to supply his wants; and in effect he saw none but this; which yet he durst not pitch upon, without the King of *England*'s leave, fearing lest it might give him an offence, and consequently an occasion to desert him: Notwithstanding this doubt, yet would he not reject *Clausel*'s proposals; but deferres his dispatch, till he could give notice of it to the King of *England*, and to his Embassadour then in *Piedmont*; from both whom he received very favourable answers; and then sent *Clausel* into *Spaine*; Injoyning him to declare to the King of *Spaine*, that if the continuance of the War in *France* might be serviceable to his designes, upon condition he would afford those of the Religion a speedy and round supply of money, he would engage himself to protect it, as long as it should be agreed upon between them; but that otherwise he should be constrained to make his peace; that he should have the whole Winter to provide it, and that he would expect his answer till the next March: And forasmuch as that, immediately after the departure of *Clausel*, there came news of the loss of *Rochelle*; he sent two Messengers after him to let him know, that that accident had not any thing shaken his resolutions; but that he continued constant to his former propositions. *Clausel* passes through *Foix* into *Spaine*, where he was very well received, and heard; and had very advantageous Pro-

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positions made him also; All which good news he imparts to the Duke of *Rohan*; giving him good hopes of a prompt, and powerful assistance: At length having concluded the Treaty, he goes into *Piedmont*, to facilitate and expedite the execution of all things; and as he went, landed a Gentleman belonging to the King of *Spain*, who was to have brought the Duke a Copy of the Agreement; But he suffered himself to be taken at the Gates of *Lunel*, when he had but half a League more to go beyond all danger, of which *Rohan* advertised *Clausel*, who when he came to *Piedmont*, gave the *English* Embassadour an account of all his negotiation.

Return we now to *Creseil*, a place about a Canon shot distant from *Millaud*, having a treble inclosure of Walls, one whereof environs the Town, and the two others the Castle, which must be forced one after another, for that there is no coming at the Castle, but through the Town; the farthest part of it being built upon a Rock of a vast height: It is true, the Walls that inclose the Town are not worth any thing, being ruinous, and full of breaches, so that it were a shame to lie eight dayes before it, and not to take it: But he that has to deale with a people, to whom no design seems difficult, and when they come to put it in execution, make no provision of necessaries to effect it, will want no incumbrances: *Rohan* gives notice of his intentions to *Alteyrac* and *Guenin*, that without any noise, they might put all things in a readiness to effect them; and gave *Alteyrac* also Orders to block up the place, a day before he came with his Troops; that so he might surprize it at a greater advantage, when meanly furnished with Souldiers; which he did, but yet all their diligence could not prevent the entry of supplies into it.

When the Troops were all come up, the Siege was formed, and a battery of two Guns raised, which had not discharged six shot, before the Carriage of one of them flew all to pieces; and when that was mended, the like accident befell the other; so that the whole time, almost, was spent in repairing the Carriages of the Guns; and with such untoward Timber, that when all was done, they did but little better than before; so that the breach being not made large enough in one day, they were fain to remit the prosecution of their battery till the morrow, which gave the besieged leasure to repaire, and make it better than before: Nevertheless urged by the shortness of his time, the Duke commanded an assault to be made, in which he was repulsed. In the mean while the Duke of *Montmorency*, who with his Army, had still waited on the motions of *Rohan*, joynes

with the Prince; and having diſſwaded him from his intended attempt upon *Cauſade*, and gotten together all the Forces of that Countrey, came with eight thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe to lie at *Saint Geo ges*, diſtant but a league from *Creſeil*; of which, when the Duke of *Rohan* had intelligence, that very night he drew off his Canon, and the next day, having left *Creſeil* again at liberty, drew up his whole Army in Battailla near *Millaud*; where about noon, the Prince appeared with his whole Army, which, when *Montmorency* had recruited the Garriſon with men, and all other neceſſaries, marched off to their quarters.

This Siege did at leaſt this good, that it preſerved *Cauſade*, which was not yet in a condition to withſtand ſo great a power: The night following *Rohan* ſends his Foot into *Saint Rome* upon *Tarn*, and into *Saint Afrique*; and ſeeing that both Armies were ſo near him, he thought with his Cavalry, having no baggage to incumber them, he might reach *Caſtres* in one night: This he propoſed to his Officers, who were of opinion, that it would be convenient to ſtay one day longer, to obſerve the countenance of the enemy, which totally fruſtrated his intentions of paſſing that way; for as he was about to attempt it the next day, he found that *Montmorency* had prevented him, and waited for him on the way both with Horſe and Foot; which made him inſtantly reſolve to take with him all his Forces, and by great Marches got into the higher *Languedoc*, to beſiege *Aimargues*, which he was confident (in caſe he found but the ordinary Garriſon in it) a few dayes would make him Maſter of; It is a Town of an indifferent bigneſs, diſtant about four leagues from *Niſmes*, and one from *Lunel*, ſeated in the beſt part of that Countrey, and upon a Flat, no wayes to be commanded, the mold alſo being ſoft, and tractable; and in ſhort, accommodated with all things neceſſary to make it a very brave place; it is alſo incloſed with fair Free-ſtone Walls, flanked with ſmall Towers, and a large and deep Trench, full of water, on the outſide of which were two or three half Moons, little, and ill made. To this end he ſent *Aubais* to *Niſmes*, to get the Canon in a readineſs, and that he might the better conceal his deſign, divides his Forces, and marches thither two ſeveral ways; he himſelf, with that party which he conducted, came thither firſt, and preſently inveſts the place; the next day arrived the others alſo, and then he aſſigned every one their poſt, and entirely blocked it up: And without further delay ſent to *Niſmes*, to haſten away the Canon, which came alſo in good time; The night following, he plants them upon the Battery he had raiſed, and

and the next day, without the loss of one man, made a fair breach; and having made provision of ladders, for that the Walls, being but low in many places, are easily scalable, and the Trench in many parts passeable, he disposed his men for a general assault: When the Governour, the Marquess of *Saint Sulpice*, a younger brother of the house of *Vsez* saw these preparations, conceiving he had not men enough to defend himself against the storm, he demands a parley; the Duke of *Rohan* sent him word, that he was much troubled that a young Gentleman of his quality should be so unfortunately engaged in a place where from his first Essay he could derive nothing but disadvantage and dishonour: Nevertheless out of regard to the amity between their houses, he offered him as honourable conditions, as he himself could have desired, which he accepted, and within an houre after marched out with his Garrison.

The Duke of *Montmorency*, while he was yet at *la Caune*, at the same instant received intelligence, both of the Seige, and taking of this place, and upon the re-iterated importunities made him, presently repaired thither to settle the Province, which the so sudden taking of *Aimargues* had much disordered. The Duke of *Rohan* mean while employes that little leasure he had in clearing the Countrey of those Paltry Forts, and Towns, which lay about *Nismes*, and *Vsez*; as the Castle of *Vauvert*, *Mainne*, *Sargnac*, *Saint Bonnet*, *Resmolins*, *Ves*, and *Chastillon*, which yeilded upon the approach of his Canon: All which he demolished, except *Resmolins*, which he was desirous to keep for that it might be useful to him when he should have occasion to look towards *Ville-neufve* by *Avignon*: But the conservation of *Aimargues*, and the Fortifications he had there begun, made him relinquish all other designs for the present, to apply himself wholly to that.

Whiles he was thus occupied, survenes the Duke of *Montmorency*, threatning to besiege *Aimargues*, and preparing his Canon, and all other necessaries for it; which obliged the Duke of *Rohan* to draw towards it, and clap in twelve hundred Foot, where he designed also a Counterscarfe, Curtains, and half Moons, to be made for the security of those places which were weakest, and most liable to danger; and having summoned in the Militia of the *Sevenes*, he put six or seven hundred of them into the great *Galargues*, whither he caused ammunition-bread to be sent them daily from *Nismes*, commanding them to defend it against a party, but not to stay till the enemy drew down their Canon. Some weeks passed they in this posture; in the mean time the Duke of *Montmorency* despairing to do any good upon

Aimargues, turns his design upon the Forces in *Galargues*; appoints his Rendez-vous by break of day at the Bridge of *Lunel*, and that morning goes thence to invest them. The two that commanded there, were *Valescure*, and *la Roque*, both gallant Gentlemen, the former very stiffely persists in a resolution to see their Canon, thinking by night, to draw off into *Vauvage*, a good Countrey for the Foot, and where all the Inhabitants were of the Religion; but this was contrary to the expres order of the Duke of *Rohan*; who understanding that they were besieged, with all speed rallies his Troops, and comes to relieve them: The Duke of *Montmorency* on the other side, draws all the Garrison out of *Montpellier*; the Regiment of *Normandy* also, with several others, come to joyn with him. His Army with his Canon, he ranged in Battailla, in a place of great advantage: *Rohan* goin; to view him, that he might know whether he should attempt this relief by day, or in the night-time, findes him to be four thousand Foot, and four hundred good Horse strong, and so advantageously lodged, that there was no coming at him in any good order, nor without passing within Pistol-shot of a dangerous Valley; which made him not discover his Troops, and defer advancing with the relief till the night following: He incamps about half a league from the place, in a Valley near a Wood, leaving a Troop of Horse to observe the motions of *Montmorency*, and to hinder the discovery of his own Forces: About the close of the evening comes a Messenger from the besieged, to demand some assistance, whom he sent back again with another with him, to tell them, that when they should hear the Alarme on the other side, they should be ready to sally out at such a place as they should direct them; that they should finde five hundred selected men to receive them within Musquet-shot of *Galargues*; and that he, with the rest of his Army, would be within a quarter of a league ready to bring them off; that if they knew any better way to save themselves, they should acquaint him with it, and care should be taken of them; but, if they approved of this course, that they should make three fires upon the top of the Tower, that it might be accordingly followed. The Messengers got very well in, and the besieged also approve of the design; In witness whereof they give the signal of the three Fires, and prepare themselves for the Sally: The Duke of *Rohan* sent the five hundred men he had promised within two Musquet-shot, caused the Alarme to be given thrice, and yet no body stirred in *Galargues*, but all stayed till day; which being now pretty well advanced, he drew off his five hundred men, who by a Volley of shot at their departure, let them know how near they had come

to

to fetch them off: The Duke understood afterwards, that some of the Captains, who had bad legs, or lame courages, hindred their coming forth; whose fears flattering them with false and deceitful hopes, made them choose rather to submit to their enemies, than run the hazard of marching three or foure hundred paces with seven hundred men, with their Swords in their hands, which when they had done, they were sure to be received by five hundred more, and a quarter of a league farther by two thousand. In great choler, and with an extream regret did the Duke draw off again, the next day, knowing they had yielded themselves to be disposed of at the discretion of their Conquerours, if they procured not the surrender of *Aimargues*; which if they effected, then were they all to be set at liberty, and have their baggage restored to them: *Valescure*, and *Baviere*, were chosen Deputies, and sent with this goodly message to the Duke of *Rohan*, who made them both prisoners; but *Valescure* escapes, and gets into the *Sevenes*, to incite the Communalties there to an insurrection, in case *Aimargues* were not given up again; others also went thither privately from *Montpellier* to the same end; *Rohan* fearing some commotions in that Province, goes thither too himself, and takes with him the Deputies of *Nismes* and *Vsez*, assembles both the Provinces at *Anduze*, where he brought them to this resolution, that *Aimargues* should not be re-delivered, and that all those prisoners they already had, or for the future should take, should be treated with the same rigour as was used to those of *Galargues*; and that he might have his revenge, he sits down before *Monts*, with but two thousand men at most; five dayes did he lie before it, for that the incessant rain that fell, retarded the arrival of their great Canon from *Anduze*, for the space of three whole dayes together: But though the bad weather mischieved him on that side, it abundantly recompensed that Injury on another, swelling the two *Gardons*, so that four or five Regiments, which could they have come the direct way, had reached him in one dayes march, not able to pass the Rivers any other way, than by a Bridge, were fain to make four or five dayes of it; and he to prolong the ir journey, causes all the Boats, and Ferry-boats upon the Rivers to be broken, and a strong Guard to be kept at *Saint Nicholas Porte*; so that immediatly upon the arrival of his Canon, without further fear of any disturbance, he batters the Castle, and reduces the besieged, a hundred and fifty in number, to such ill terms, that they yielded upon condition to undergo the same punishment as should be inflicted on those were taken at *Galargues*, perswading themselves still, that *Hannibal*, to whom the house belonged, and who was

Baſtard-brother to the Duke of *Montmorency*, would be able to prevail with him to ſave his Friends, and Allies; But *Montmorency*, to make his action more eminent at Court, having ſent word that he had taken the prime Officers and Souldiers of the *Sevenes*, the King commanded that all the Colonels, and other Officers ſhould be hanged, and the common Souldiers ſent to the Gallies; which the Prince having notice of, would not give him leaſure to let the Court know what had happened at *Mouts*; ſo that he cauſed threeſcore and four to be hanged, which indeed were not all Officers; but many that were well clad, ſtiled themſelves ſo, out of hopes to finde better uſage; ſee how many times men gull themſelves: The Duke of *Roban* alſo, for his part, cauſed the like number to be hanged, not ſparing any for their quality, except ſome few, which he reſerved, to fetch off ſome others, which *Hannibal* had gotten to himſelf, who were afterwards exchanged.

In the mean time *Montauban* goes on luckily with the War, in which that Town, without the aſſiſtance of any other, alwayes behaved it ſelf beſt of any of the Reformed Party. *Saint Michel*, before he engaged in any other enterpriſe, looks after the preſervation of *Cauſade*, upon ſome jealouſies he had of the Governour *Chaſtillon*; for that in all Military actions he diſcovered too much effeminacy, and too much diſregard of things relating to the ſecurity of the Town; but principally for that he held too frequent correſpondencies with thoſe of the adverſe party, under pretence of procuring the enlargement of his brother, who had been a priſoner ever ſince the laſt peace: Neither was he without ſome ſuſpitions of the others aime to out him of his Government, which made him begin to think upon ſome way to preſerve himſelf in it, to which end he Courts the affections of the Souldiers, and people of the Town; but before he had well made his Game, he moſt imprudently declared publickly, that he would no longer own any ſubordination to *Saint Michel*, who to prevent, and cruſh this miſchief in its birth, exhibited the Articles he had to charge *Chaſtillon* withall to the Council; whereupon it was ordered that he ſhould be ſecured, and tried by a Council of War; which was neatly carried by *Saint Michel*, who very privately, and inſenſibly having gotten many Souldiers into *Cauſade*, and coming thither himſelf unthought on, without any the leaſt commotion, ſeizes upon *Chaſtillon*, and carries him to *Montauban*, where he was for a time kept priſoner, and examined: But whether it was, that the proofs againſt him were not clear enough, or that they feared leſt the puniſhing of him would be a diſcouragement to other ſtrangers; he was ſet at liberty

liberty again; and *Pontbeton* was made Governour of *Cauſade* in his place; who continued in that command untill the Peace.

Saint Michel having thus ſecured this Town, thinks upon taking in of many ſmall Forts, and Caſtles, which were a great diſturbance to *Montauban*; having now a fit opportunity offer'd him by the plague, that had driven away moſt of the Garriſons the Duke *d' Eſpernon* had left about him; in purſuance of which he drawes his Canon into the Field, and begins with the Caſtle *de la Motte d' Ardus*, and having battered, and taken it by aſſault, fired it on the ſecond of *September*: When he came back to *Montauban*, he had intelligence of a great body drawing up, compoſed of the Countrey Forces, and ſome other Regiments alſo, ſent for purpoſely to oppoſe his deſigns: On the 6th. of the ſame Moneth he lays an Ambuſcade for them among the Vineyards of *Dieu-Pantole*, about two leagues diſtant from *Montauban*, and with his Horſe goes to draw them into it, and meets them in the plain of *Caſtalans*, and *Saint Porquier*, where the enemy, without expecting till the reſt of their men were come up, or indeed ſtaying one for the other, purſue him in diſorder up to the very Ambuſcade, where being once engaged, he charges them on every ſide, and leaves ſome four or five hundred of them dead upon the place, beſides a great number of wounded, loſing not above three or four of his own: Thence he marches up to the very Towns of *Caſtalans*, and *Saint Porquier*, and other Villages, and Farms, which he fired, and then returns to *Montauban*. The next day he beſieges the Caſtle of *Ville-Dieu*; which having endured the battery a whole day, yielded the next; thoſe within it had their lives given them, but they remained priſoners of War, and the place was burnt. On the 8th. of *October* he went from *Montauban* to beſiege *Eſcaliex*, about two leagues from *Montauban*; but thoſe of that Garriſon ſtayed no more for him, then did thoſe of *Blavet*, both which retreated to *Salvagnac*; theſe two Forts he alſo burnt: And becauſe *Moulière* Governour of *Villemur*, had now his Regiment on foot, he was very deſirous to invite him into an Ambuſh alſo, which he endeavoured to do, by firing the Mills of *Villemur*, which were in ſight of the Town, whence yet none would ſtir out; in his return thence he came before the Caſtle of *Paulmuron*, which he forced.

The Garriſon of *Salvagnac* being thus re-inforced with thoſe of *Eſcaliex*, and *Blavet*, began now to grow inſolent, and would no longer ſtand to the Agreement made with thoſe of *Montauban*, to ſuffer them freely to paſs, and repaſs; whereupon he

he laid an Ambuſh for them alſo; to allure them to which, he ſent out ſixty Horſe, and fifty Foot, when preſently came forth an hundred, or ſix ſcore Souldiers, to gain the Ford upon the River *Teſcou*, where they met with ſuch entertainment, as very few of them ever went back again.

About the beginning of *November* ſallied out ſixty ſeven Souldiers from the Garriſon of *Loubejac*, to lay an Ambuſh near *Montauban*, upon the great Road to *Negrepeliſſe*; which *Saint Michel* having notice of, drew out ſome Horſe, and layed a Counter-Ambuſcade in the way by which they were to retreat; and charging them in an open field, ſlew about threeſcore and four of them; and after this, took the Caſtle of *Bourquet* by Petard. Many other little actions paſſed there at *Montauban*, in which *Saint Michel* alwayes came off with honour.

It is now time to return to the lower *Languedoc*, whither preſently after the taking of *Monts*, came the newes of the Reddition of *Rochelle*, after the long ſufferings of that poor people, had given ſuch large teſtimonies of their invincible conſtancy.

The *Rochellers* upon the retreat of the ſecond Fleet, ſent four ſeveral Meſſengers to *England*, with inſtructions all to the ſame effect; *viz.* To repreſent unto the King, the deplorable condition they would ſuddenly be reduced to, and minding him of his promiſes, to beſeech his Majeſty with all ſpeed to ſend them ſome relief, aſſuring him withall, that how many, and heavy ſoever their preſſures were, they would not ſubmit to them, but wait his anſwer: *La Groſſetiere*, who was one of the four, arrived there on the 15th. of *June*, and was ſent back again with many fair promiſes on the 30th. but in his return was taken, carried to the King, kept a priſoner till the Town was taken, and was then put to death. The 10th. of *July* following came the ſecond, and on the 14th. arrived the third; but the laſt, who came about by *Holland*, was ſome-what longer on his way.

Before the arrival of *la Groſſetiere*, had the King of great *Britain* diſpatch't *la Lande* with two other Souldiers, to give the *Rochellers* notice of the great ſupplies he was preparing for them; and after him was alſo ſent *Champfleury* with the like aſſurances, who got into *Rochelle*, but one day before the Fleet ſhewed it ſelf in the Rode: The ſhips preparing for this expedition being not yet finiſhed, the Engineers pitched upon a new invention, to wit, the letting out of three ſhips lined, and the decks covered with brick, and laden with ſtones of an immenſe bigneſs, and ſtuffed with barrels of powder, to make theſe Mines play effectually upon the Barricado the *French* had made in the Port:

Port: But the King of *England* very much unſatisfied with the ſlow progreſs of the Fleet, went himſelf in perſon on the laſt of *July* to haſten it, in which journey the Duke of *Soubize* waited on him.

The Duke of *Buckingham* ſtaying behind, ſets his wits on work to find out ſome means to obſtruct the ſending away of the ſupplies, and to this end, endeavours by the means of the *Venetian* Reſidents in *England*, and *France*, to have ſome overtures for a peace made: But ſeeing that took not, he reſolves upon a journey to *Portſmouth*; but before his departure, ſends for *Vincent*, a Miniſter of the Church of *Rochelle*, and makes him write a perſwaſive letter to the *Rochellers*, to diſpoſe themſelves to accept of the peace the Duke of *Buckingham* was now procuring for them; which the Embaſſadour of *Savoy* having an inkling of, he plainly demonſtrates to *Vincent*, that it was only an invention to retard the departure of the Fleet, and ſo defeated that project.

At length, on the 24th. of *Auguſt*, comes the Duke of *Buckingham* to *Portſmouth*, and on the 29th. arrived there fifty ſhips, ſome men of War, and others laden with proviſion, and ammunition: But on the ſecond of *September*, the Duke of *Soubize* going to viſit the Duke of *Buckingham*; as he had newly dined, he told him that juſt then he had received intelligence of the re-victualling of *Rochelle*, and that he was now going with the newes to the King; and as he was lifting up the Hangings to go forth of the Room, he was ſtabbed with a Knife, into the great Artery of the heart, by an Officer, whoſe name was *Felton*, of which he fell, and dyed immediatly: Nor were the Duke of *Soubize*, and his followers free from danger, it being muttered in the Chamber, that it was a French-man had done this act; but *Felton*, who might have eaſily eſcaped, if he had liſted, having not been obſerved by any one, voluntarily diſcovers himſelf to be the Authour of this Homicide; ſaying, that it was better that two men ſhould periſh, than a whole Kingdom. The next day the King makes the Earle of *Lindſey* Admiral, *Morton* Vice-admiral, and *Montjoy* Reare-admiral; the other commands were not changed, but the ſame Captains that were in the former expedition, went alſo in this, with a greater force; but the ſame reſolutions. After the death of *Buckingham*, it appeared that not half of the Ammunition and Proviſions for the Fleet were yet ſhipped; and that ſhould the proſecution of their buſineſs anſwer the ſlowneſs of the beginnings, there would be yet three moneths work more to do; but by the care, and preſence of the King, more was now diſpatch't in ten or twelve dayes, than in many weeks

weeks before; ſo that all things being now ready, they ſet ſaile on the eighteenth of *September*: That which made the Duke of *Soubize* conceive better hopes of this than the former Fleets, was the care and diligence uſed by the King, and the command he gave his Admiral, in his preſence, not to do any thing without his advice; committing the charge of this expedition conjoyntly to them both.

On the nine and twentieth of *September* came the Fleet into the Rode of *Rochelle*, and after a calm, which continued all *Sunday* and *Munday* following, at night the Wind aroſe, and ſate faire for a fight, ſo that about two houres before day, upon the Admiral's firing of a Gun, they all ſet ſayle, and at ſix of the clock in the morning began a fight, which laſted about three houres, in which, on both ſides, were diſcharged three or four thouſand piece of Canon, and that was all: The next day about the ſame houre was the fight renewed, but more temperately, and at a greater diſtance, ſo that both thoſe fights were concluded without any great loſs to either ſide: On the third of *October* comes up to them *Friquetot* a Captain that had formerly ſerved under the Duke of *Soubize*, and coming, as he ſaid, from *Tremblade*, ſhews a Letter from the Captain *Treſtebois*, deſiring him to know of them whether they would hearken to a Treaty of peace or no; to which was anſwered, that he ſhould ſhew his paſs-port, or elſe that *Treſtebois* ſhould come up in his Shalloup between the two Fleets, and there let them know what he had to ſay; which, on the ſeventh of the ſame moneth, he did, with one whoſe name was *de l' Iſle*, both who were remitted to *Montague* and *Forain*, who, finding that they had no particular Commiſſion, but came only to know whether the *French* would Treat apart, excluding the *Engliſh*, anſwered them, that that could not be, and ſo both retired to their own Parties: Nevertheleſs upon occaſion of this interview the Admiral ſent *Montague* with a Dutch Gentleman whoſe name was *Kimpluſſen*, under colour of demanding of ſome Mariners, that were Priſoners in the *French* Fleet; but his going thither again the two dayes following, pretending they had promiſed to ſhew him the Barricado in the Port, and confeſſing, at his return, that he had not ſeen it, becauſe the Tide did not ſerve, bred ſome jealouſies, that he went thither upon ſome other deſign; And when upon a report that there had Articles mutually paſſed between them, the Duke of *Soubize* complained that they had entred upon a Treaty, unknown to him, and without the Privity of thoſe that were principally concerned in it; it was ſtuly denied: But when the continual goings to and fro of *Montague*, had confir-

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med their ſuſpicions of a Treaty, it was put off with this excuſe, that they treated of things not relating to theirs, nor the Intereſts of *France*: And not long after, the Admiral ſent *Montague* into *England*, with a paſs which the Cardinal of *Richelieu* gave him.

On *Sunday* the one and twentieth of this moneth there hapned a remarkable paſſage; one *Pojanne*, a Captain that had formerly ſerved under the Duke of *Soubize*, a Villain covered with Crimes, and that had now redeemed his life, by the engagements he had paſſed to the Cardinal, to kill, or burn *Soubize* in his ſhip, ſets ſaile out of the River of *Bourdeaux*, in a good ſhip of two hundred Tun burthen, and filled with Combuſtible matter; and, the better to palliate his deſign, paſſes as an enemy, making prize of ſeveral *French* he met withal, and ſo gets up to the *Engliſh* Fleet; When he was come in among them, he tells them that he was come to ſerve the Party of the Religion as he had formerly done, and deſires to be conducted to the Duke of *Soubize* who knevv him very vvell: With him vvas a Gentleman of *Anjou*, vvho, as he vvas going to *Rochelle*, had been caſt upon the Coaſt of *Spaine*, there taken, and thence ſent to the Cardinal, vvhe finding him to be a bold and adventurous perſon, promiſed him not only his pardon, but infinite recompences in caſe he would accompany *Pojanne* in this enterprize: The deſire he had to ſave himſelf tegether with the perſwaſions of his brother, who was a ſervant to the Cardinal, made him promiſe whatever they required of him: But when they came to the fleet, he unfolded the whole plot to *Soubize*, whereupon *Pojanne* was taken Priſoner, his ſhip and Prizes ſeized on: And to prove that this Gentleman ſaid nothing but truth, he offered to get through into *Rochelle* with the Cardinal's paſs, and to return thence with a true acccunt of the condition of the place: His offer was accepted of, and double Letters were given him, ſome of which he ſhewed to the Cardinal, importing a requeſt to permit him to make this Voyage, and a promiſe at his return to give him a perfect relation of his diſcovery. Thus he got in, and returned with other private Letters, which truly repreſented the ſtate of *Rochelle*, which was ſo ſad, that in caſe they were not relieved within two dayes, there would be none left alive in it, and that they were now upon the point of yielding.

On *Monday* the two and twentieth, about ten a cleck in the morning the Fleets made as though they would engage, but the Captains failing of their premiſed duty, the whole time was ſpent in *Cannonades*, without any prejudice to either party, and all

all the fire-ſhips were ſo ill-managed, that they were vainly, and to no purpoſe conſumed: And in the mean time, in ſight of that Puiſſant Fleet, ſo well ſtored with all neceſſaries, while the time ſlipt away, the paſſage unattempted, nor the Duke of *Soubize* his offers, to lead the way with the *French*, deſiring the Admiral but to follow him only, accepted, nor thoſe of the Count *de Laval*, while the others were engaged in the fight, to conduct the three ſhips lined with brick, and in which were the Artificial Mines, up to the Barricado; the famine finiſhed its work in *Rochelle*; there being hardly a man left that could ſupport himſelf without a ſtaff; all that were left alive were ſo few, and ſo debilitated, that they had not ſtrength to handle their Armes; ſo that on the ſame day the Admiral of *England* had reſolved with his Council, once more to attempt the relieving of it, the *Rochellers* capitulated, and yielded on the 28*th.* day of *October*; and on the 10*th.* of *November* following, the whole Fleet left the Rode, and returned towards *England*: The miſcarriages of this action being imputed to the refractorineſs and diſobedience of ſome particular Captains; ſome of them were confined to their own houſes, and a Commiſſion was iſſued out for their Trial: But in a ſhort time after, all this vaniſhed, and they received their pay as the reſt did.

The Duke of *Rohan*'s Mother, nor his Siſter, would not ſuffer any particular mention to be made of them in the Capitulation; leſt the occaſion of the ſurrender ſhould be imputed to their perſwaſions, or the reſpect borne to them; not doubting however, but that they ſhould equally enjoy the benefit of the Treaty with the reſt: But, the interpretation of Articles being commonly made by the Conquerours, it was the Judgement of the King's Council, that they were not compriſed in them, ſince they were not mentioned in them: An unpreſidentable ſeverity, that a perſon of her quality, of ſeventy years old, coming out of a beſieged Town, where ſhe and her daughter had lived three moneths together upon Horſe-fleſh, and four or five ounces of bread a day, ſhould be detained Priſoners, prohibited the exerciſe of their Religion, and ſo ſtrictly guarded, that they had but one ſervant allowed to attend on them; But all this rigour abated not their wonted courage and zeale to the welfare of their party: For the Dutcheſs ſent to her ſon the Duke of *Rohan* a Caution, not to give any credit to her Letters; for that in this reſtraint ſhe might be compelled to write things contrary to her inclinations, and that the conſideration of her miſerable condition ſhould not impell him to any thing that might prejudice the Party, whatever miſchief befell her: A truly

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Christian resolution, and nothing varying from the whole course of her life, which though it had been a continued texture of afflictions; yet, by the assistance of God, with such fortitude comported she her self in them all, that she has justly merited the applause and benediction of all good people; and will yield posterity a most illustrious example of an unparallelable vertue, and admirable piety. Thus this poor Town, once the Cabinet and delight of *Henry* the Fourth, is now become the Subject of the wrath and Triumph of his Son *Lewis* the Thirteenth: It was assaulted by the *French*, abandoned by the *English*, and buried in a grievous and mercileſs Famine; but in the conclusion, has, by its constancy, gained a more glorious Renown in succeeding ages, than those, whose uninterrupted prosperity makes them the envy of the present.

This newes caused a wonderful and general dejection among the whole Party, every one casting about, how to make his own peace; and many made publick addresses to that end, alledging, that since *Rochelle* was now lost, for whose preservation only they had taken up Armes, it was necessary that they also should make their own compositions, before a greater extremity befell them; On the other side the *Romanists*, by means of the Confederates they had in the Townes of the Religion, infused suggestions into them, perswading them to a speedy compliance, and that their early submission, would procure them a better reception; offering withal, large recompences to those that could induce their Corporations to send their Deputies to the King, who at the same time also, published a Declaration, wherein he promised to receive again into his favour and protection, any particular persons, or Towns that should petition him to that effect.

The people wearied and ruined with the Warre, and whose spirits naturally stoop to adversity; the Merchants discontented at their loss of Trading; the Citizens grieved to see their houses burnt, and their lands lie idle immanured, and untilled, all encline to a peace upon any terms whatsoever: But of all others the distemper of *Castres* was the greatest, by reason of the divisions between *Chavagnac* and *Saint Germier*, who supported by the Consuls, and others, who stayed in the Town purposely to mischieve the whole party, who played their game so well with the Council of *Albigeois*, that they procured Deputies to be sent to the Duke of *Rohan*, to desire his presence, without which their ills were irremedible, and to summon him, upon his promises, to convene a General Assembly, which might, together with him, take care of the publique affairs; giving the Deputies charge

charge to return with his anſwer as ſoon as poſſible, that accordingly they might reſolve on what they had to do.

This reſolution, as alſo the election of the Deputies, was made contrary to the advice of *Chavagnac*, one of them being a Kinſman of *Saint Germiers*, yet was he fain to ſubmit to it for the preſent. The project of this meſſage was grounded upon the impoſſibility they conceived of the Duke's being able to come to them; and upon a belief, that were the way open, yet would he never curb his own power by a General Aſſembly; ſo that upon his refuſal they promiſed themſelves a fair and plauſible pretence, to make their own particular peace, or at leaſt, that making the Aſſembly their own, they ſhould compel him to aſſent to what they liſted: Which the Duke of *Rohan* foreſeeing, and having alſo, before the arrival of the Deputies, reflected on a General Aſſembly, as the only expedient, to preſerve an entire unity among them, he condeſcended to all their deſires; and that he might loſe no time, took the Deputies with him to *Miſmes*, where they made choice of Deputies for the lower *Languedoc*; thence went they to the *Sevenes*, where they did the like, leaving the time and place for the Convention to his determination: He ſent them alſo Orders into *Vivaretz* to elect their Deputies too; and then, having taken Order for the gallant fortifications he had begun at *Aimargues*, and all Gariſons neceſſary to be kept in the two Provinces, during his abſence, he takes all his Horſe, and five hundred Foot, and with them comes to *Caſtres* about the beginning of *December*, where he found *Rouſſeliere*, whom the Inhabitants of *Saverdun* had driven out of their Town, by means of *La Plante*, his Lieutenant there, who ſuffering himſelf to be ſeduced by their temptations, had drawn the Gariſon out of the higher Town, and given it up into their hands: This was alſo much promoted by the miſ-intelligence happened between *Mazaribal* (whom the Duke of *Rohan*, upon the death of *Saint Eſtienne*, had made Governour of *Foix*) and *la Rouſſeliere*; upon this occaſion; for that *Mazaribal* his facility made him too much yield to the ſollicitations of ſome of the Inhabitants of *Mazeres* (whoſe villainy was not then known to him, as he confeſſed afterwards, and that he took them for perſons well-affected to the Party) to uphold the Enemies of *la Rouſſeliere* both in *Saverdun*, and *Carlat*; which made him requite his courteſie, by ſhewing favour alſo to all againſt whom *Mazaribal* had any Picque; and to ſuch a height grew their animoſities one againſt another, that *Mazaribal* obſtructed, as much as he could, the payment of the Gariſon of *Saverdun*, and gave free paſſage to the Souldiers

ers that ran from *la Rouſſeliere*; which much elevated the ſpirits of his enemies, who cheriſhed *Mazaribal* with hopes, that in caſe they could rid themſelves of the other, they would receive him into his place; but when, upon the expulſion of the other, he had a minde to go thither to reap the fruits of their promiſes, they reduced his train to a leſs number at the firſt, and ſhut their Gates upon him the ſecond time; but proteſted notwithſtanding to continue firm to the Party; which nevertheleſs, when they had ſufficiently ſecured the place, they utterly abandoned it, and preſently made addreſſes by their Deputies, to the King. It was then (but too late) that *Mazaribal* clearly perceived the wicked intentions of *la Rouſſeliere*'s enemies, whoſe Treachery he could not now ſufficiently aggravate.

The firſt thing the Duke of *Rohan* did, when he came to *Caſtres*, was to aſſemble the two *Colloques* of *Albigeois* and *Lauraguais*, to acquaint them with the reſolutions of the lower *Languedoc*, and the *Sevenes*, and to incite them, by the others example, to chooſe Deputies alſo for the General Aſſembly; the like was alſo done by *Montauban*, *Foix*, and *Roüergue*: After this he endeavoured to compoſe the difference between *Chavagnac* and *Saint Germier*, which was now grown into ſo formal a quarrel, that mutual challenges had paſſed between them: But though *Saint Germier* refuſed not to ſubmit to a reconciliation, yet would he not condiſcend to own *Chavagnac*, as his Superiour in the Town of *Caſtres*: But on the contrary he profeſſed publiquely, and in private, and even in the Council-Houſe, that he would oppoſe him in all things, and in all places. This made the Duke of *Rohan* think of removing him into the lower *Languedoc*; to which end he offered him a Troop of Horſe, and an honourable allowance for himſelf and his retinue; but his Partiſans, ſeeing that this tended to the diſſipation of their faction, diſſwaded him from it, promiſing him withall, that if he could find out any way to evade that employment, they would make him Maſter of their Town.

The Duke alſo, finding the great ſcarcity of Corn was in *Caſtres*, to ſupply that want, gets them to reſolve to borrow ten thouſand Crowns to buy ſome; and offered them, during his abode there, ſufficient Convoyes to conduct it ſafe thither: But ſeeing that could not be effected, he ſeeks out ſome other way to ſupply the neceſſities of the Town: And underſtanding that there was a great quantity at *Saint Amant*, which lies in the Valley of *Mazamet*; he claps a Petarde to the Town, and

by that means enters it, and beſieges the Caſtle, which being hardly preſſed, yielded alſo, and at three or four Convoyes, was the greateſt part of the Corn carried to *Caſtres*: This exploit was performed by *Chavagnac*: He ſent alſo for more proviſions to ſome of the Religion, that living as Neuters, hoped by that means to ſecure themſelves againſt all parties.

He cauſed *Donzet* the firſt Conſul of *Realmont*, who was a great inſtrument of the taking of the Town, to be tried, and executed; but with much difficulty, for that having married the Preſident *Monteſpieu*'s Neece (ſuch perſons ſeldom wanting Interceſſours) they were loth to pronounce a ſentence of Death againſt him: After this, the Winter came on ſo furiouſly, that he could not proceed in his intended Deſigne upon *Braſſac*.

Whiles he ſtayed at *Caſtres*, he alſo defeated two ſeveral negotiations for particular Peaces: The firſt was carried on by *Dejan* a native of *Montauban*, who having formerly bought the Office of Provoſt of the Town, which the Corporation oppoſed as a thing long before aboliſhed, after a long ſuit, and a great expence of money he was faine to accept of what he had diſburſed: This man being at the Court, had freſh hopes given him of this Office, in caſe he could effect any thing in this negotiation: To this Lure he ſtoops, and having his Commiſſion diſpatched, comes away with two Letters from *Galand*; one for *Montauban*, and another for *Caſtres*. At the firſt place he was refuſed, and referred to the Duke of *Rohan*; and as for the ſecond, he durſt not go directly thither, but approaches as near it, as *Bouquiere*, which is about a League from it, and thence Writes to *Dupuy*, to let him know that he was very deſirous to ſpeak with him about a buſineſs of great importance; but he ſent him word again, That he could not do it, unleſs he would firſt acquaint him with the nature of it: Whereupon he eſſayes a ſecond time to prevail with him, but in vain; ſo that not daring to come into *Caſtres*, he was faine to return again without any further ſatisfaction: Thus his Voyage bringing no advantage to the Court, was nothing beneficial to himſelf neither, who reaped no fruits at all of thoſe many fair hopes were given him.

The other was managed by the Biſhop of *Mende*, who was ſomewhat more zealous in it, as ſhall be ſeen in another place; but for the preſent he diſcovered himſelf thus far, and to the Duke of *Rohan* too; that being a ſervant to the Cardinal, he had received a Commiſſion to Treat with particular perſons, and Corporations, either ſeverally, or conjunctively, and eſpecially with

with him; that if he would hearken to him, he would procure him conditions, in which he should find what satisfaction he could desire; but if he would hear of none but a general Treaty, he must not expect so good; and so openly did he discover his purposes, that *Saint Michel* Governour of *Montauban*, fearing lest he should engage in a Treaty without his Privity, sent a servant of his own towards the Duke of *Rohan*, to observe what was done, that the intelligence he should receive of the transactions there, might direct him how to steer his course; who, when he saw that the Duke would not listen to a Man not impowered by any Commission, nor admit of any clandestine or particular Treaty, discovered himself, and told him, that he was sent to inform him from the Governour, that the Bishop had made some overtures to him concerning a particular Treaty for *Montauban*, but that he had rejected his Propositions; nevertheless if he had any inclinations to a general Treaty, he was very well acquainted with him, and could do him much service in it.

On the other side, the Bishop nothing satisfied with *Rohan's* answer; and rightly conjecturing, that his presence would be injurious to his design; resolves to have patience, until his return into the lower *Languedoc*; that in his absence he might the more effectually prevail upon the several Corporations.

There remained nothing more now, than by a Provident fore-sight, to prevent all inconveniencies, might intervene at *Castres*, during his absence: To this end he settles in the Consulate persons of great integrity, and no less fidelity to himself, banishing from the Town three of the old Consuls, and some others also, of whom he had great jealousie; and placed there four Companies of Foot, for whose subsistence he also provided: The business of *Saint Germier* was the only thing he could not handsomely cleare, because he had absented himself from the Town; which obliged the Duke of *Rohan* to make an Order, prohibiting *Chavagnac*, and the Consuls, to give him, or any of his brothers, any admittance into it; and, in case he came not in to them within the space of eight dayes, to Proclaim him a deserter of his Party: He sent also a Company of Foot into *Roque-courbe*, and another into *Viane*; forbidding them also to receive *Saint Germier* and his brothers, and leaves three hundred Men, which he brought out of the lower *Languedoc*, in *Saint Amant*, where, for their maintenance, he allotted them their proportions out of a part of the Corn was found there.

When he had done this, he went with the Deputies of the General Assembly towards *Nismes*, where he saw the storm was like to fall, and where his presence would be most necessary; and conceiving it also a very convenient place for the General Assembly, made no long delays after his arrival there, before he formed it.

The first and most important affair that fell under their consideration, was that of *Castres*; *Saint Germier*, after the departure of the Duke of *Rohan* thence, animated by the Fugitives of *Castres*, and importuned by those of his Faction, that were left in the Town, whom his Mother, and his Wife, whose Sex priviledged their stay there cherished in their discontents, resolves to return thither again, and indeed he himself was the fourth man that came to the Gate, and meeting with no opposition there, he goes up directly to his quarters, where thirty or forty persons flocking to him, perswade him to go out into the Market-place, assuring him, that all the people would joyn with him, *Chavagnac*, who was then at Church, having notice of his arrival, raises his Garrison, commands his own Troop to make ready, and resolves to charge him, wherever he should meet him; but his Lieutenant, *l' Espuguet*, being very opportunely mounted with about twenty of his men to go out upon a party, hearing the Alarme, goes directly to the place where *Saint Germier* was, and without taking any other notice of him, charged him bravely; in which action he received five wounds, and lost one of his men; but he slew and wounded many of the others also, whom he so scattered, and dispersed, that they had no more mind to rally again. Upon this rumour, the Consuls and Consistory interpose in the business, and instead of detaining him prisoner, too charitably mediate for his quiet departure again: This is that which usually ruines all publick affairs, the indulgence shewen to offenders, under the goodly pretence of piety and clemency, which in other mens matters every one cries out for, when as their own particular interests will not endure to hear them mentioned.

This mild comportment of theirs towards *Saint Germier*, instead of pacifying, renders him more haughty than before, puffing him up with a vain opinion, that this courtesie was an effect of their fear; so that encouraged by his followers, and by the assistance of many Thieves, and Villains, that had sheltered themselves in *Roque-Courbe*, he gets into it, drives out the Garrison, and makes himself Master of the place; the Assembly General fore-seeing the evil consequences this would produce, sent a Deputy to *Castres*, with order to communicate his Commission

Commiſſion to *Chavagnac*, and the Council of the Province, and to endeavour to compoſe this difference, by ſubmitting it to the determination of Arbitrators; to the end they might not provoke *Saint Germier* to give away the Town; which being now in his poſſeſſion, he laughed at all mentions of an Accommodation; ſo that the Deputy at his return, reported to the Aſſembly, that all he had been able to do, was to confirm *Roque-Courbe* in their reſolutions for the Reformed party, which they had anew engaged themſelves by Oath, never to relinquiſh; but that for the preſent it was impoſſible to diſpoſſeſs *Saint Germier* of it; but yet that there was great probability that a little patience, together with his imprudence, would give them what they aimed at; and in effect, a few dayes after, when he urged the Inhabitants to declare for the King, who knew well they muſt then ſubmit to a *Romiſh* Garriſon, they turned many of his Faction out of the Town, which ſo terrified him, that thinking himſelf no longer ſecure there, he leaves the place alſo, and goes with them to *Cam*, a houſe not far from it; which when *Chavagnac* had intelligence of, he beſieges, and takes him, and one of his brothers, with fifteen, or ſixteen others, half *Romaniſts*, and half of the Reformed Religion, whom he ſent to the Duke of *Rohan*: And yet after ſuch actions as theſe, found he many Advocates, who deemed it too great a ſeverity to detain him priſoner, till the peace, and ſeemed alſo much diſcontented that his whole equipage was not reſtored him, and a Troop of Horſe given him, that he might ſerve the party as formerly, and this was the concluſion of this affair.

And now the Biſhop of *Mende* renewes the purſuit of his deſign, with an Eſſay upon *Montauban*, to which end he ſent thither *Vieres*, a Gentleman of *Quercy*, who feigned himſelf to be of the Religion, and wrote to the Town to this effect, that being now going with the Kings Paſs-port to wait upon the Duke of *Rohan*, with ſome propoſals tending to the general advantage of them all, he would not proceed in his journey before he had acquainted them with them, which if they pleaſed to receive from his Relation, he was confident they would approve of them.

It was not thought fit to admit him into the Town, for fear of the danger might enſue; but yet the natural curioſity of the *French*, at ſuch a time, when every one breathed nothing but deſires of a peace; made them very ſollicitous to know what he had to ſay; Wherefore they ſent four Commiſſioners to receive his meſſage, whom he told, that being of the Religion himſelf, he could not but be very zealous for the general welfare of their

party, and that the Bishop of *Mende* having full power to treat, he was going from him, to the Duke of *Rohan*, and the general Assembly, with some propositions to that purpose; which, that they might be the better resented, and that their Town might also have their part of the thanks, and benefit thence accruing, he advised them to send thither some Deputies also, offering the Kings Pass for their safe conduct; when this was reported to the Common-Council of the Town, they approved of the advice, and presently made choice of some Deputies, of which they also advertised the Assembly.

The Duke of *Rohan* had great jealousies of this *Vieres*, whom he had a long time known for a notable cheat; nevertheless, with great impatience was this Address expected; the report of which being generally divulged, suspended all other thoughts, every one hoping to derive some advantage from it; three weeks passed without any further mention of it, at length came a dispatch from *Montauban*, importing, that they had receiv'd intelligence from the Bishop, that he could not obtain the Pass-ports promised by *Vieres*; but that if they pleased to send their Deputies to perswade the General Assembly to accept of such a peace, as the King should vouchsafe to accord them, and in case they refused to comply, that they themselves were resolved to submit to his pleasure, he would engage himself for the safe conduct of their Deputies: This discovered the whole fallacy to the Town, and made them resolve anew to remit all propositions for peace to the General Assembly, which they exactly observed in that made them by the Marshal *de la Force*, to this effect, that the King was resolved not to issue out any Declaration for a general peace; nevertheless, if they would Treat every one particularly, the King admiring of all such Treaties, and refusing a peace to no Town, it would at last insensibly prove a general one.

When this business of *Montauban* was over, came a very urgent dispatch from *Vivarets*, grounded upon this occasion, that the Army which lay before *Rochelle*, after the taking of the Town, went under the command of *Toiras* into *Auvergne*, to refresh themselves, and that they were now upon a March towards the upper *Vivarets*, to go thence to *Valence* in *Dauphine*, there to wait the arrival of the King; this their so near approach, gave the whole Countrey a hot Alarme; especially *Sojon*, which *Chevrilles* about six Moneths before had seized, and fortified; so that with great instancy they demanded a supply both of men and ammunition. The lower *Languedoc* furnished them with fifteen hundred men, the command of which was given by the Duke of *Rohan* to *Saint André de Montbrun* as his field Marshal,

Marſhal, with whom were alſo ſent the Horſe belonging to *Caſſagne*, who about three moneths before, was taken priſoner; to whom in this place I muſt give his merited honour, publiſhing to the World with what generoſity he with-ſtood both the Menaces, and Flatteries of the Court; for, he being the firſt Conſul of *Niſmes*, and of great authority, and reputation there; they hoped by his means to raiſe a powerful faction there, and wholly take off that Town from their adherence to the Reformed Party.

But to return to thoſe of *Vivaretz*, all whoſe fears the King's Army having tranſported with them over the *Rbone* into *Dauphine*, they countermand the Troops were coming to their aſſiſtance, which turned to their great prejudice; for that being now a burthen to the Duke of *Rohan*, who knew not yet well how to diſpoſe of them, he was feign to ſeek out ſome employment for them, between *Vivaretz*, and the *Sevenes*; and to this end he ſent *Saint André* orders to make an attempt upon *Saint John de Valle-Franciſque*; and for the more convenient proſecuting of a deſign upon *Villeforte* or *Poſtes*, to ſecure *Genovillac*, and *Chamberigand*; he begins with *Saint John*, which he takes, as alſo the Fort of *Chamberigand*, and ſome other places, which were like to incommode him, and then takes up his quarters at *Genovillac*; whence he marches with intention to block up *Villefort*; but finding the Marqueſs *de Portes* upon the way with a greater power than his, ready to diſpute the paſſages with him; he forces him from them, and ſo advances to *Ville-fort*, thinking to have lodged his men in the Suburbs; but being not able to effect it, he retires to *Genovillac*, and *Saint Germain*, and thence informs the Duke of *Rohan*, that his men would leave all their Colours, unleſs they were drawn off thence; whereupon he gives orders for their quartering at *Saint Ambroix*, *Barjac*, *Valon*, and *la Gorce*; that they might be in a readineſs to march to *Privas*, upon any occaſion ſhould ſummon them thither.

In the mean time came to him new aſſurances from *England*, that he ſhould never be deſerted, nor any peace made, without compriſing the whole body of thoſe of the Religion in *France* in general, and his Family in particular; encouraging him alſo to a conſtancy in his reſolution, and not to be diſmayed at the loſs of *Rochelle*: Prince *Thomas* alſo of *Savoy* ſent a Gentleman to him, to let him know, that if he continued in his former humour, and would advance towards him, he would give the King a handſome diverſion in *Dauphine*, and meet him upon the *Rbone* with ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe; to whom he replied, that he was now in a better humour than ever, and

ready to march upon the first summons he should receive from him.

The King in the mean time goes towards *Dauphine*, but because the plague was at *Lyons* Lodges at *Vienne*, and appoints the Rendez-vous to be at *Grenoble*, where preparation was also made of all things necessary for the relief and victualling of *Cazal*; the jealousies these preparatives raised in the Duke of *Savoy*, made him look about him in several quarters, there being an Army in Province ready to fall upon *Nice*; another in *Bressia* to keep *Savoy* in awe, and the King himself marching with the third to the streights of *Susa*, which is the Key of *Piedmont*; so that the Duke was fain to divide his Forces, that he might be ready to defend himself in any part where the storm should fall, and to call in the *Spanish* Forces to assist him in the defence of *Susa*.

The present state of affairs, gave great probabilities that the King would now have employments enough to divert him a long time from looking after those of the Religion; and upon occasion of some reports dispersed among the people of *Nismes*, that if they had any inclinations to sue for a peace, all necessary Passports for their safe-conduct should be given them; the Assembly took care to enquire after the Authours, and truth of these Rumours; but finding them to be all fictions, and the inventions of some Counsellours of the Presidial of *Nismes*, or of some of the Inhabitants that had been expulsed the Town; or of some of *Aiguemortes*, some of them set on by the Duke of *Montmorency*, others by the Marquess of *Varennes*, out of an intention to ruine them, by sowing divisions among them, rather than to procure them any good; the Assembly made a Decree, that all persons that had any propositions or overtures to make for a peace, should first bring them to the Assembly, that they might be examined by them, and improved to their advantage; expressely prohibiting also all persons from such clandestine, and malicious buzzing of reports among the people, to take them off from proceeding in the Fortifications they were then upon.

And next they fell upon the consideration of a course to procure a firm and lasting peace; whereupon they laid down this for an infallible ground, that it could not be such, unless it were made conjointly with the King of *England*; neither could he himself procure any upon so good terms, without a previous discent into *France*, whither he was now invited by so many considerable emergencies to favour him in the enterprise; the King being now at the other end of his Kingdom with his best Forces, prosecuting a design, was to be executed without it; where he should have to

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oppoſe him, the Forces of the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*. To this effect a letter was written to him in the name of the Aſſembly, and the Duke of *Rohan*, beſeeching him to embrace this offered opportunity, and confirming the proteſtations formerly made by thoſe of the Religion in *France*, not to engage in any Treaty, but conjoyntly with him: And for as much as their want of money was great, and that without ſome Forrain aſſiſtance, it was impoſſible to keep their men together, or advance their Fortifications, the Duke of *Rohan* was ſollicited to write to *Clauſel*, that they could no longer ſubſiſt without a ſupply of money, and that he ſhould let the *Spaniards* know, that the peace of *France* could be no longer prevented, without a ſudden recruit. It was alſo reſolved, that they ſhould endeavour to procure ſome private Paſs-ports, that they might with more ſecurity ſend into *England*; upon aſſurance to be given to diſpoſe all things to a peace: *Du Cros* of *Montpellier*, who, with the conſent of the Marqueſs *de Foſſe*, came to give the Duke of *Rohan* a viſit, returned from him with the ſame promiſe, which was alſo confirmed by the whole Aſſembly.

Thus were they careful not to omit any thing that tended either to their own defence, or the procuring of a peace, even at ſuch a time, when they had fairer hopes of good ſucceſs in their affairs than ever; but God, who had otherwiſe determined of them, blaſted all their projects: For the King, who left not *Paris*, to go to the relief of *Cazal*, till he had privately gotten an aſſurance out of *England*, which freed him from the fear of any invaſion thence, whil'ſt he was engaged in that expedition, and made him confident of a peace with that Nation, excluding the Reformed Party, would not admit of any addreſſes from them, fearing leſt they might prevail ſo far upon him, as to induce him to alter his determinations concerning them: To which may be added, that ſurprizing his enemies by a nimble march, in the dead of Winter, he eaſily gained the ſtraits of *Suſa*, and immediatly after the Town alſo; which brought ſo great a terrour on them all, that *Don Gonzales* raiſed his ſiege from before *Cazal*; the Duke of *Savoy* alſo, to prevent the loſs of *Piedmont*, ſollicited for a peace, by which he was obliged to re-victual *Cazal*. The King, that he might himſelf witneſs the performance of all Conventions, remained about a moneth longer in that Countrey: And then leaving *Toiras* with four thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe in *Montferrat*, and the Marſhal *Crequi* with the like number at *Suſa*, bent all his thoughts, and the reſt of his Forces upon the War in *Languedoc*; in order to which he commanded the Marſhal *Schomberg* to advance before to *Valence*,

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to receive the Forces that were coming out of *Bressia*, and the parts about *Lyons*, to cause the Train, and all other necessaries to be made ready, and to conclude a Treaty already begun with *Chevrilliers* concerning *Vivarets*: To the Duke of *Montmorency*, he sent Orders to besiege *Sojon*; to the Duke of *Guise*, that he should deliver up his Army to the Marshal *d' Estrée*, who had a Commission to march with it into the lower *Languedoc*, to ravage the Countrey about *Nismes*; not long after the King comes in person to *Valence* with a few Horse only, and a few dayes after, the Cardinal arrives also with the rest of the Army; out of which were drawn fifteen hundred Horse, and sent under the command of the Duke of *Trimoüille*, to joyn with the Marshal *d' Estrée*.

In the interim of these preparations the *English* Embassadour then residing at *Thurin*, gave the Duke of *Rohan* notice of the peace concluded there; but that it was not like to be of any long continuance; that the Army was now marching towards him, but in so tattered a condition, that if he could but stand the first shock, he would soon find such diversions made, as would be much to his advantage. *Clausel* encouraged him yet much more with promises of a sudden supply both of Arms and Money. *Nismes*, and *Aimargues* went but slowly on in their Fortifications, *Vsez* a little better; but yet no Town would give quarter to any Souldiers, till they were upon the point of being besieged; which drove the Duke of *Rohan* to his usual way of offering to each particular Town to pull out for them, the Thorn that pricked them: And first he addresses himself to *Sauve*, with over-tures of an attempt upon *Corconne*, whither he goes; but findes it a matter of greater difficulty, than his information had given him cause to apprehend; for having battered their Works, the Walls were not to be scaled, but with Ladders of a very great length; so that those he had brought with him proving too short, he was necessitated to make all new again; which gave the Marshal *d' Estrée*, (urged by the Marquess *de Fosse*) leasure to march to the relief of it with six thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse; whereupon the Duke drew off again to *Sauve*; and the next day being desirous to view the Marshal's Army as it marched, and who then took up their quarters at *Sommieres*; it was demonstrated to him, that he could not get back again to *Saint Gilles*, but he must pass the *Vistre* near to *Aimargues*; or the *Gardon*, if he intended to go for *Vivarets*, as it was reported he did, at both which places he might with ease be discovered, and with advantage fought with: The Duke, that he might not lose this opportunity, writes to *Vsez* for some more Forces,

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and ſends *Aubais* to *Niſmes* for the ſame purpoſe; *Leſques* goes to *Anduze* for others, accompanied by *Goudin*, and *la Baume*; he ſent alſo to *Saint Hippolyte*, and the neighbouring Garriſons for more Auxiliaries, appointing his general Rendez-vous to be at *Vauvage*; and he himſelf ſets out by break of day with two thouſand Foot, and fourſcore Horſe, to ſecure *Caniſſon*, a large, but unfenced Town, whence he might be ſure to take his advantage which way ſoever the Marſhal ſhould take, but whether it was that he had the ſame deſign upon *Caniſſon*; or that he had intelligence of the Dukes marching thither with ſo ſmall a Force, he found him alſo upon his march from *Sommieres* towards *Caniſſon*; nevertheleſs the Duke having the advantage of the way, goes on directly to the Town, and there began to ſecure the avenewes of it with his Van, that the reſt, (conſidering he was purſued by an Army twice ſtronger than his own) might in good order poſſeſs themſelves of the Town; but the extream heat of the day, and fame of the good Wine, wherewith that place abounded, had already drawn thither the greateſt part of his Officers, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to govern them; when on a ſudden he heard many Muſquets in his Rear, which was then skirmiſhing with five hundred Muſquetiers, which the Marſhal had ſent before to try if they could break it; whil'ſt he, with the reſt of his Army ſtayed upon a little Hill which gave him a view of all the Countrey, and what was done even in *Caniſſon* it ſelf, whence perceiving the great and general confuſion there, he gave Orders for a general aſſault: The Duke of *Rohan* commanded *Montredon* to rally his men, together with *Carticas*; Briſſign of his Guards; whiles he himſelf draws out a hundred of his own Guard, whom he led up to the Caſtle of *Caniſſon*, which being ſeated on a little Hill, commands the Town, and circumjacent quarters, ſo that it is not eaſily aſſaultable on any ſide, enjoyning them ſtrictly to look well to the defence of that place. This done, he goes round the Town, which he begins to fortifie with ſtrong Barricadoes; juſt as he had finiſhed his circuit, he meets with *Leques*, *Goudin*, and *la Baume*, and tells them that of neceſſity they muſt reſolve to defend the out-places, untill the Barricadoes were finiſhed: *Leques* undertook the aſſay, goes to the head of his men, and ſeeing that the Souldiers that were in the Caſtle, had quitted it, haſtes thither with others, whom he placed in their rooms; and ſo eagerly diſputed he his poſt without the Town, that when he would have retreated thither, he found the enemy had intercepted his paſſage, ſo that he was fain to take the Field: *La Baume* was alſo ſerved in the like kinde; as for *Goudin*, the Duke would not ſuffer him, by rea-

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ſon of his wound, to ſhut himſelf up in the Town; but when he had taken the beſt courſe he could to preſerve his Foot, he drew off with his Horſe to *Niſmes* to haſten away the relief he had before ſent thither to prepare.

In the mean while *Montredon*, the Major General, *la Boiſſiere*, and *Alizon*, after they had from poſt to poſt, diſputed the out-quarters, retreated into *Caniſſon*, where they had no ſooner taken their ſeveral poſts to defend, but they received a general and furious aſſault; but neceſſity animating the Defendants, they bravely repulſed the Aſſailants; and whiles they looked on, perfected their Barricadoes; then got the enemy into ſome houſes, which they began to break through, thinking by that way to open themſelves a paſſage into the Town, but they were ſoon fired from that attempt; this ſtorm laſted from Noon till Night; the Officers within behaved themſelves with much gallantry, both in rallying, and encouraging their men; but *Montredon*, *la Boiſſiere*, and *Alizon*, who commanded in chief, got moſt honour in this action; both parties had their inconveniencies; thoſe within wanted ammunition, thoſe without proviſions; ſo that, that very night the Marſhal *d' Eſtrée*, offered the beſieged a Parley, which they rejected, telling him withall, that they ſhould ſoon ſee the Duke of *Rohan* there with freſh Forces, to make them remove farther off, and indeed that night had he ſent two thouſand men of *Niſmes*, under the command of *Aubais*, to get as near *Caniſſon* as poſſible, and to let the beſieged know, that he was now come ſo far to their aſſiſtance; but he returned again, without giving them any notice of his arrival, either by Meſſenger, or other ſignal made, as he was expreſly commanded; none daring to adventure on the employment; and indeed, ſo ſtraitly were they inveſted, that it was impoſſible for any one to get in to them; this much troubled the Duke, who having refreſhed his Troops, reſolved to go thither in perſon, and either ſave his men, or loſe himſelf: To which end he ſent *Leques* Orders to have the Garriſon of *Aimargues* in a readineſs to joyn with him; but whil'ſt he was preparing for their relief, came newes to him of the capitulation, which was made upon theſe termes, That the beſieged ſhould with all ſecurity march off to the *Sevenes*; that the Marſhal *d' Eſtrée*, ſhould not enter the Town of *Caniſſon* with his Army; but that the ſaid Army ſhould be drawn up in Battailla, at a great diſtance from the way they were to paſs; that the wounded of both ſides, which could not be carried off, ſhould with all ſafety remain in the Town; and that for the performance of theſe Articles, Hoſtages ſhould be mutually given, all which was punctually obſerved on both parts; of the party of thoſe of the Religion

ligion were ſlain about fifty or ſixty, and above double the number wounded: of the *Romaniſts* were there four hundred ſlain, and eight hundred wounded.

This was the iſſue of this action, in which the Duke of *Rohan* was very like to have received a check, would have proved fatal both to himſelf, and his Party too: But now imagining that it was not without cauſe that the Marſhal ſo earneſtly purſued this deſign; but that his Forces were intended for the Countrey about *Niſmes*, he conceived he would again paſs the *Viſtre* near *Aimargues*, that he might the ſooner recover his quarters at *Saint Gilles*, which made him deſirous yet once more to ſee him; for which purpoſe he took two thouſand of the Foot of *Niſmes*, and his Horſe, with whom he came to *Aimargues*; the next day he drew them up in a place between *Aimargues* and the Paſs, with intention to charge him when he ſhould be half over; which the Marſhal having notice of, he changed both his deſign, and road, and lengthning his way a dayes journey, paſſed the River at *Aiguemortes*; and the Duke returned to *Niſmes*: And ſeeing the preparations were making on all hands for the invaſion of the lower *Languedoc*, and the *Sevenes*, he got the Towns of the lower *Languedoc* to receive their Gariſons; aſſignes the Regiments of *Goudin*, *Fourniquet*, and *Bonal*, to *Niſmes*; thoſe of *la Baume* and *Faulgeres* for *Uſez*; and that of *Sandres* for *Aimargues*; After this, and the taking of the Fort of *Sojon* by the Duke of *Montmorency*, which coſt him but three dayes time, though *Chevrilles* had promiſed to hold it out three weeks, the Duke of *Rohan* having learnt the particulars of the Treaty for *Vivaretz*, made by *Chevrilles* with the Keeper of the ſeals for twenty thouſand Crowns; he thought it now high time to look after the ſecuring of it; and ſent *Saint André de Montbrun* with five hundred Foot, and ſome of *Caſſagne*'s Horſe, to *Privas*, whither he got very happily, having defeated *Montreal* and *l' Eſtrange*, who waited for him at ſome untoward paſſes in his way, with a farre greater ſtrength than his. At his arrival there, he found the Conſuls with the Common Council aſſembled at the Town-Houſe; who told him that indeed they had formerly wiſhed for his company, but that at preſent, they having no need of any Souldiers, it would be but a burthen to them; and yet, that they might with the better grace refuſe to admit his party into their Town, promiſed to quarter them in the Villages that lay thereabouts; which *Saint André* perceiving, was the more reſolute to quarter in the Towns. *Chevrilles* who was then at *Cheyla*, was ſent for in all haſte, and coming thither the next day with thoſe of his Faction, he

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preſently aſſembles the Council of the Province, and of the Town too, to perſwade them to requeſt *Saint André* to return again, and that in caſe their intreaties were ineffectual, to induce him to it by the ill uſage of his Men: which *Saint André* having notice of, he goes in to the Aſſembly, and there declares that he was ſent thither, by the command of the Duke of *Rohan*, who only had power to recall him againe; and that whatever their determinations ſhould be, he would not ſtine a foot thence without his Order: When *Chevrilles* ſaw himſelf thus fallen from his hopes, he tells *Saint André*, that in caſe the Town ſhould be beſieged, he would do them better ſervice without than within the place; that he would raiſe fifteen hundred men, and would put as many of them into it, as he ſhould think neceſſary, and with the reſt would forrage and cut off the proviſions from the King's Army.

His propoſition was well approved of, and on the morrow he departs: And not long after were there three Barques laden with Salt taken upon the *Rhone*: *Saint André* haſts thither, but came not time enough, for that ſome Frigots had already forced thoſe that had taken them to quit their Prize: Nevertheleſs in this excurſion he learnt that the King was come to *Valence* but with a ſmall guard, believing, upon the information he had received concerning that particular from the Keeper of the Seals, that the Treaty of *Vivaretz* was abſolutely concluded; but that finding that the coming of *Saint André* thither had altered the whole face of things there, he was now preparing for the Siege of *Privas*, which was to be blocked up within four or five dayes: Large offers was he tempted with, even to the value of an hundred thouſand Crowns, but his generous refuſal of them ſhewed him to be a perſon full of honour and fidelity: At his return to *Privas* he makes them all reſolve to abide a ſiege, engaging them alſo by an Oath, that the firſt man, that ſhould but mention a Capitulation, ſhould be put to death: Then he aſſignes to every one their reſpective poſts; and Orders the repairing of the out-works, to which, before his coming, nothing at all had been done; nor yet could he begin them, but the very day before the Town was inveſted, and yet ſuch diligence uſed he in it, that ſome of them were made very defenſible, and held out bravely.

The ſiege was ſcarce begun, when the Cardinal came up with the reſt of the Army that ſtayed behind at *Suſa*: He preſſes *Chevrilles* to the performance of his engagement; who that he might not wholly loſe the recompence of his Treaſon, deſires to have a part in the honor of the Siege, offering to bring in with him 15. hun-

hundred men; his offer was accepted, and he comes in, but all alone: The next day came a Trumpet from the King (accompanied with *Argencourt*) to ſummon the place: *Chevrilles*, who failed not to be at the place, whither the Trumpet was to come, ſent one of his Captains to know what he had to ſay, which when *Saint André* was informed of, he haſted thither with all diligence, and ſent him back again without any anſwer at all: Whereupon *Chevrilles* ſeeing him reſolved not to give them time to deliberate, whether they ſhould hearken to a Capitulation, or no, leaves them again the ſecond time, carrying with him as many men as he could, and was alwayes the occaſion that the Souldiers of *Bouttieres* went not thither to their aſſiſtance, amuſing them ſtill with promiſes to conduct them thither time enough, by this meanes ruining the endeavours of thoſe whom *Saint André* had ſent thither purpoſely to invite them to their aſſiſtance.

He was no ſooner gone, but *Brunel* of *Anduze*, who commanded five Companies of the *Sevenes*, confederating with the other Poltrons and Traitours, frames a conſpiracy to kill *Saint André* in caſe he ſhould refuſe to ſurrender the place; and ſeconded by ſome of his Faction, threatens to give him up, if he denied to comply with them: Whereupon it was thought fit by the Council, that he ſhould have a conference with *Gordes*, which he had, but they could not agree upon the conditions.

After that the Cardinal was come up to them, they more cloſely blocked up the place on every ſide, made their approaches and batteries, and then gave it an aſſault, from which they were bravely beaten off with the loſs of many of their men; yet did this ſtorm ſo terrifie the beſieged, that they inſtantly urge *Saint André* to give *Gordes* another meeting: But in his room was ſubſtituted, and ſent *Veunes* a Captain in the Regiment of the Guards, who offered him very honourable terms for himſelf, and the Souldiers, but nothing at all for the Inhabitants; all which he refuſed, proteſting that he would never deſert them: When *Saint André*, at his return, gave the people of the Town an account of the interview, it ſtruck ſo great a terrour into them, together with thoſe of *Vivarets*, that they all quit the Town, and flie to *Bouttieres*, leaving *Saint André* with five hundred men only to defend a place, which was not to be maintained under two thouſand. In this extremity he conceives it his beſt courſe to draw off to the Fort of *Toulon*, where he might Treat with more ſecurity; it being impoſſible to force him there in any ſhort time, or without the loſs of a great number

ber of Men: About break of day *Deffiat*, *Gordes*, and *Vennes*, desire a conference with him, which he condiscended to; at which they make him no larger offers than of his own life only, in case he would abandon his Souldiers, which he generously rejected, and returned to embrace the same fortune with them: When they saw this made not any impression on him, they summoned him once more to send some of his Officers to them with his final resolution: *Brunel* of *Dauphiné* offering himself for this employment, was accepted of; three journeys made he to them, in which time being corrupted by the enemy, he returns from the last with an assurance of all their lives; but adding withall, that they would not give any thing under their hands, untill *Saint André*, with some of his Captains had cast themselves at the King's feet to implore his pardon; and moreover that the Count of *Soissons*, who was to present him to his Majesty, had given him a strict charge to tell him, that he should haste to him with all speed, that he must not now lose any time; and that he did with much impatience wait for him: Whereupon he assembles his Captains, who all earnestly importune him to go; which when he scrupled at, they break out into open reproaches against him, charging him with having ensnared them in a danger from which he would not endeavour to free them: Forced by their invectives, he goes out with five Captains; *Saint Preüil* and *Fourille* conduct him into *Saint Simon*'s Chamber, where, the Cardinal coming to him, told him, that since he was come forth, without any parole given him, he was now a Prisoner: Then was he forced to write to those in the Fort, to advise them to yield at discretion, and that they should receive the same usage he did; who, refusing to credit those Letters, or *Brunel*, who was sent with them, desire to see *Saint André*, who was conducted up to the Fort with a strong guard: As soon as they saw him, they imagined themselves sure of their lives, and thereupon resolved to give up the Fort: Those that first entred it, fired some barrels of powder, purposely to colour the cruelty they were commanded to execute upon those that were in it: *Saint André* and his Captains were kept Prisoners: Thus were most that were in the Fort betrayed to their destruction; some of the Prisoners being hanged, and others sent to the Gallies.

I have related the particulars of this affair, to let the world see how that the perfidie of *Chevrilles*, the two *Brunels*, and of the most considerable persons in *Privas* occasioned the miserable destruction of their Town, and a great part of the Inhabitants, ruined the relief of *Languedoc*, and frustrated those of the Religion

ligion of an opportunity to obtain a very advantageous Peace; which, ſince the publication of that with *England* (which was made during this Siege) they had entred on a Treaty upon with the Marqueſs *de Foſſé*, who was to that end impowered by the King's Commiſſion: But the taking of this place, as little dreamt of by the *Romaniſts*, as thoſe of the Religion (conſidering their brave reſiſtance at the beginning of the Siege) quite ruined that affair: For *Du Cros* had procured conference between *Aubais*, *Dupuy*, and *Lucan*, Deputies of the Aſſembly general, with the ſaid Marqueſs; and although at their firſt interview, he refuſed to proceed, unleſs they would recede from their demands, concerning the demolition of the fortifications; yet with more advantage might they have Treated, while the King was further off, and *Privas* held out, than when he ſhould come into the *Sevenes*, and there diſcover the Factions, weakneſſes, baſeneſs, and Treacheries, that were too frequent among thoſe of the Religion.

The loſs of *Privas*, from whence was expected a longer oppoſition, ſurprized the whole Party with terrour and amazement; and put the Duke of *Rohan* in mind, that it was now high time to go to the *Sevenes*, to take Order for the ſecurity of that Province, and to oppoſe the firſt attempts that ſhould be made upon it: This Voyage was hitherto retarded by his fear to leave *Niſmes* (which many endeavoured to ſeduce from its fidelity) till he had ſupplied it with Souldiers, which, untill compelled by neceſſity, they would not receive; and withall by reaſon that having reſolved to leave *Leques* there to command in chief, in caſe it ſhould be beſieged, he durſt not diſcover his intentions in that particular too ſoon, becauſe he knew that *Aubais* aimed at the ſame command, and that he endeavoured by ſecret practices to render *Leques* odious to the people, and make himſelf to be deſired by them: In the like perplexity was he for *Uſez*, where *Goudin* ambitioned the Government, but was abſolutely refuſed by the Inhabitants: Nevertheleſs, at length he ſets out from *Niſmes*, goes to *Uſez*, and thence takes *Faulgiere*'s Regiment with him to *Aletz*, and thence put it into *Saint Ambroix*, in hopes that the oppoſition that place would make, would give him more leaſure to provide for the *Sevenes*, where he thought to have found a good ſum of money ready raiſed, out of ſome Farms he had engaged for his Leavies; but the apprehenſion of the King's coming into thoſe parts, made moſt of the Farmers refuſe to diſburſe any: Upon their default he propoſed another expedient, that the Bayliffs ſhould advance the money for the Leavies, and that, for their re-imburſement both of the Principal

and Intereſt, ſhould be aſſigned them not only the aforeſaid Farms, but alſo an impoſition then newly laid upon the Countrey; but all theſe inventions, being not of force to extract any money out of their purſes, the Duke was fain to addreſs himſelf to the Communalties.

In the mean time the Marſhal *d'Eſtrée*, and the Duke of *Trimoüille* began to ravage the Countrey about *Niſmes*, where there paſſed many handſome skirmiſhes, in which, thoſe of the Town (who killed and wounded twelve or fifteen hundred of the enemy) had alwayes the better, except one day, when ſome of the Inhabitants, too inconſiderately advancing, were ſurprized by the Horſe, who dealt ſo roughly with them, that, beſides thoſe which were wounded, there remained forty dead upon the place, and had not *Leques* come in with freſh Troops, there had been much more miſchief done: For his own part he was forced from his Horſe, which was killed under him; but the Forragers came not within Canon-ſhot of the Town.

The King on his ſide loſes no time, but after the taking of *Privas*, ſends part of his Army towards *Gorce* and *Barjac*, which were given up into his hands: *Beauvoir* and *Saint Florent* make their peace, and then turn Brokers for the places belonging to the Reformed Party: The former of them comes to *Saint Ambroix*, to perſwade the Inhabitants, to imitate the example of *Barjac*; which the chiefeſt of them were ſo ready to conſent unto, that, had not the Souldiers interpoſed, the thing had been then done: Nevertheleſs they continue their correſpondencies, ſo that upon the King's approach, though he had no Canon with him, nor could have any come up to him within eight or ten dayes, fear united the two Factions in the Town, who before were at mortal odds, and both together force the Souldiery to a compliance with them, ſo that the Capitulation was agreed on, upon condition that the Souldiers ſhould no more beare armes for the Reformed party: At which Article, when one of the Captains ſcrupled, the Duke of *Montmorency* told him, that none ever treated with the King upon any other termes, but that it was but a formality only, and obliged no man farther than he pleaſed himſelf: And then flatters one, and another, with promiſes of great rewards, if they would repaire to *Aletz*, and ſerve the King there, by joyning with the Count of *Aletz*, who had promiſed to give him up the Town: Thither then marched all the Souldiers from *Saint Ambroix*, where they excuſe themſelves by revolving all the blame upon the Inhabitants, who compelled them to yield the place; promiſing withall, that notwith-

withſtanding the Treaty, they would ſerve the Reformed party, wherever they ſhould be commanded. The Duke of *Rohan* was then at *Aletz*, but had no Forces ready for ſervice, but the Regiment of *Foulgieres*, and five or ſix new raiſed Companies; the King being then within three Leagues of him with all his Army, the people of *Aletz* very wavering, and uncertain whether they would ſtand upon their defence or no; and the Baron of *Aletz*, who had promiſed to deliver up the Town, that he might the better effect it, would by all means be Governour of it; but the Duke was deſirous to place *Aubais* in that command, for that being Field-Marſhal, every one would have ſubmitted to him, and promiſed to leave with him all the beſt men he had; but he excuſed himſelf; for that being refuſed, the Government of *Niſmes*, he had taken up a reſolution, never to ſtay within any beſieged place. Then offers he it to *Aſſas*, to whoſe age and experience every one would have born an honourable reſpect; but he alſo abſolutely refuſed it: Whereupon he ſpeaks to *Boiſſiere* concerning it, whoſe modeſty, not ſuffering him to think himſelf ſufficient for it, made him refuſe to accept of the charge, as Commander in chief; but offered to ſtay there as ſubordinate to *Aubais*, or any other the Duke ſhould think fitting; ſo that in this extremity he was fain to leave there one *Mirabel*, an old Gentleman of *Vivaretz*, of a weak ſight, and as feeble limbs: And when the King came to take up his quarters within a League of *Aletz*, the Duke of *Rohan* took the Baron d' *Aletz* with him, and went thence that very morning before the Town was inveſted; promiſing, before his departure, to ſend them what ſupplies of Souldiers he could poſſible; of which he took ſo great care, that at ſeveral times he ſent them in above fifteen hundred; beſides the Garriſon was there before, which at length he raiſed to five and twenty hundred in the whole.

When the King ſaw himſelf fruſtrated of his hopes of gaining the place without force, he ſent for his Canon, and, (that he might loſe no time) began his approaches; part of the Town of *Aletz* is ſeated on a Plain, and the other ſo near the Hills, that they command above half of it; the River *Gardon* runs ſo near the Walls, that it is rather prejudicial, than uſeful to the Fortifications; for that being but a ſmall Torrent, fordable in moſt places, and running ſo near the Town, it leaves no ſpace for any Flanker to be made; nor could it be fortified within the walles by reaſon of the houſes which made a part of them; ſo that there was no way to ſecure that part of it, but by raiſing Works on the other ſide of the River, and Forts upon the little Hills, which command all a good diſtance from them, and muſt

be joyned by a Line of Communication to two great ſtone-bridges, which croſs the River. In ſhort, it was a work of vaſt labour and expence, nor could the Town be kept, but by a great number of men, which was the reaſon it was never till then fortified; But the people now ſeeing that *Anduze* was fortifying, would needs imitate their example; a malady which raigned in moſt of the Communalties of the *Sevenes*, and this diſcovered its infection, when the Duke was abſent, and upon his Voyage into *Foix*; who though he well knew there were already more fortifications begun, then they had Souldiers to man, yet would he not croſs them in their humour, for fear of vexing and diſcouraging them; there was yet this further miſchief in it, that beſides that, they took things beyond their power to accompliſh; when once the firſt heat was over, they would not employ what they had as they ought, nor would they work, but when compelled by their fears; to which I muſt yet adde this, that when they were moſt intent upon the raiſing of theſe fortifications, it was impoſſible to perſwade them to ſtore themſelves with other neceſſaries requiſite to the defence of their Town; for in ſuch deſigns one expence draws on another; and if one of theſe four things be wanting, to wit, *Good Works*, *Ammunition*, *Victuals*, and *Souldiers*, all other proviſions are but vain and fruitleſs.

This being the condition of this Town, they were very much ſurprized, having neglected to raiſe a third Fort, which omiſſion, the Duke willing to redeem, in great haſt makes up one of Barrels, which flew in pieces at the firſt on-ſet, and on this ſide only did the enemy raiſe their Battery, between the Bridge, and the Duke *d' Engouleſme's* Garden; this firſt aſſault ſo terrified the Inhabitants, that they thought of nothing now, but how to make a handſome compoſition, to which they were incited, by the Captains that came from *Saint Ambroix*, and thoſe of the Baron *d' Alets* his Faction, whoſe ſollicitations wrought ſuch dangerous effects, that they made Holes in their Walls to let the Beſiegers in; which being diſcovered, the breaches were repaired, but the offenders not puniſhed; ſo that the miſchief was only delayed, not remedied; and the diſaffected made more induſtrious to conceal their Treacheries: Two or three of the aforeſaid Captains upon their own requeſt were ſent to the Duke of *Rohan*, to inform him how weak the place was, both in men and reſolutions to ſtand it out, that the numbers of the Garriſon there before, and of the recruits ſent thither ſince, hourely decreaſed, by their continual flight from it; whereunto he replied, that what they had ſaid, could not be; that he very well knew what Souldiers he had left there, and whom he had placed over them, that he would daily

daily ſtrengthen them with convenient ſupplies, both of men, and Ammunitions; and therefore perſwaded them to return again to them ſpeedily, to animate them by their preſence; which they plainly refuſed, alledging once for all, that it was the next way to be hanged, conſidering their engagements to the Duke of *Montmorency*, when they marched out of *Saint Ambroix*; whereupon the Duke being informed that they had had ſecret conference with the Baron d' *Aletz*, and that they had agreed together that his Cornet *Meſargues* ſhould be ſent in to *Aletz*, he commanded they ſhould be all apprehended, and ſent *Blacquiere* thither with a recruit of five hundred men, and an expreſs command to kill the firſt man that ſhould but mention a ſurrender; but the malady was then paſt cure, the Townſmen having hid away the ammunition, and deſerted the moſt neceſſary Work of terraſſing that part of the Wall which was oppoſite againſt the enemies Battery, ſo that all he could do, was to protect the capitulation two or three dayes longer, and by that means ſave five and twenty hundred men, which had they been loſt, as were thoſe of *Privas*, it would have deterred all others from any future engagement; that which was moſt fatal in this reddition, was the Article ſemblable to that of *Saint Ambroix*, which diſabled them from evermore bearing Arms againſt the King.

As ſoon as the newes of this was brought to the Duke of *Rohan*, immediatly he ſent away *Falquieres* the Lieutenant of his Guards to *Sauve*, where the ſurrender of *Aletz* had ſtruck a general terrour into the Inhabitants; the moſt conſiderable of which, out of hopes of obtaining good conditions for themſelves, by the favour of their Lord, the Count d' *Aletz*, denied to let him into their Town; but *Falquieres*, being of the place, and having much acquaintance in it, by the means of ſome Ladders he had procured, got in; but found the people ſo reſolutely fixed upon an accommodation, that having ſeized upon the Caſtle, and a Tower which commanded the Town, and ſerved it inſtead of a Citadel, told him openly, that they were now reſolved to ſeek out ſome way to preſerve what they had left, and not expoſe themſelves to an utter ruine.

In the interim the Count of *Aletz*, invited by thoſe that had privately Treated with him, advances with three or four hundred Horſe, within half a League of the Town, where when he underſtood that the arrival of *Falquieres* with his Souldiers, had prevented his entry into the Town, he ſent a Trumpet to them, with offers of fair propoſitions; *Falquieres* could not by any means diſſwade, nor hinder them from ſending back a Meſſenger

again to assure him, that though they could not give him admittance at present, yet were they Masters of all the Forts; and that if the Duke of *Rohan* did not suddenly conclude a general peace, as he had promised them, they would, by his assistance, make their own in particular, not doubting but their example would allure the greatest part of the *Sevenes* to an imitation of them: To which the Count replied, that it was in vain to expect a General Peace; and that the Duke deluded them with that Airy fancy; but vvhil'st he made his ovvn, and that then he vvould leave them in the Lurch; that if they could be a means to drave off any other corporations from the party, it vvould be much to the advantage of their ovvn conditions, and that they should have but a Garrison of thirty Souldiers only in their Castle, commanded by himself; they assured him of their zealous endeavours to effect vvhat they had promised, and that vvithin tvvo dayes they vvould send him a further answer by a Messenger of purpose: *Falquieres* that had seen all these Envoys, and heard the free, and lond discourses of the people to him, sent the Duke of *Rohan* word, that unless he recruited him instantly with four hundred men at least, he should be turned out of the Town.

The importance of this unexpected newes perplexed him so, that he took aside three or four of his Officers, in whose fidelity he reposed most confidence, to impart it to them, and receive their advice thereupon; some of them at first sight conceived that the business was desperate, and irremedible, induced to this opinion by their experience in the precedent Wars, of the disaffection of that Town to the Reformed party; and that being now Masters of the Castle, they might at their pleasure let in the Enemy; that it would be a thing of great difficulty to send them any Souldiers; for that the people of *Anduze*, that very moment expected a siege, and had not sufficient for their own defence, would be very unwilling to part with four hundred men; that if the Duke of *Rohan* should go in person thither, which was the best expedient for it, they would presently raise, and diffuse a report, that he had abandoned all; so that it was to be feared, least his endeavours to preserve *Sauve*, should prove an occasion of the loss of *Anduze*; so that their advice was to send *Falquieres* and his party orders to defend themselves the best they could; and to promise them a good assistance, in case the King should draw towards them; but that for preservation of their stores, he would not charge them with any more Forces, untill necessity should draw that burden upon them; others were of opinion, that the place was of such consequence, that the loss of

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it would draw after it all the *Sevenes*, up to *Vigan*, and cut off all communication between *Anduze*, and the lower *Languedoc*; so that the Duke of *Rohan* would be totally blocked up there, without any possibility of breaking through again; that the loss of it, as was that of *Privas*, and *Saint Ambroix*, would be wholly laid to his charge; and that it might be justly feared, lest the people of *Anduze*, who were known to have inclinations seditious enough, and had store of malignant spirits among them, should enter into conspiracies also against him; in short, that this extremity gave them a capacity to betray him, and therefore it were better to attempt to send four hundred men to *Sauve*, to preserve both himself, and the Town too.

This Counsel was accepted of, and thereupon he drew out all the Garrison of *Anduze*, and out of it chose four hundred men, to send to the relief of *Sauve*; but none would undertake the conduct of them, but the Adjutant-General *Randon*, nor he neither; but upon condition that (to secure his own honour) the Duke would allow him the liberty to retreat with them again, in case he saw the King's Army advance towards him; engaging himself nevertheless not to make use of it, unless enforced to it by some extremity; thus was he fain to expose his own, to save the honour of another.

Amid'st these perplexities, which were no small ones, the Court-faction in the *Sevenes* used many subtile inventions to induce the Communalties there to a particular Treaty, excluding the Duke of *Rohan*; the most dangerous of which, were; first, to hinder the march of the relief from *Anduze* to *Sauve*; terrifying them with continual Alarms, that a part of the King's Army was to cross the Countrey, which they would overwhelme with blood and fire, so that not a Souldier could be perswaded to stir from his house; the next was, without his permission to convoque an Assembly, to which were summoned only those they were sure would consent to a Deputation to the Court in the name of many of the Communalties for a particular peace; and the last was to asperse his honour, by scandalous insinuations, that *Privas*, and *Saint Ambroix* were given up by his especial order; that *Blacquiere* was sent to *Aletz* for the like purpose; and that having made his own conditions, he would expose the people to a necessity of accepting such as the King should impose upon them; and in effect these, and the like defamatory rumours spread abroad, by petty, but very factious persons, that hoped by such means to raise themselves a fortune, raised a general murmur against him; for the people, (especially those of *Languedoc*) are naturally prone to believe the worst, of the best, and the best, of the worst

ſort of men; readily complying with ſuch clamorous perſons, as condemn the actions of other men, when as themſelves do nothing at all, but vail their hypocriſie with an indiſcreet zeal, tending only to ſedition, and the ſubverſion of their Religion, and liberties.

The Duke was at the ſame time ſollicited by often repeated Meſſages from the Provinces of the higher *Languedoc*, *Foix*, *Montauban*, and *Rouergue*, both for men, and money. *Mazaribal* ſends him word, that unleſs he were recruited with a hundred good men, and pay for them, it would be impoſſible for him to preſerve *Mazeres*; and that without ſuch a ſupply, or a peace, he ſhould within one moneth be forced to quit the Countrey: *Saint Michel*, and the Town of *Montauban*, tell him, that the Prince, and the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, were drawing down to Ravage the Countrey about them, which they would inevitably ruine, unleſs he ſent them ſome aſſiſtance to prevent it; but that with a thouſand men at moſt, and money to pay them, which they earneſtly importuned him for, they made no doubt bravely to repulſe them. *Chavagnac*, and the Town of *Caſtres* remonſtrate to him, that a Famine would inevitably ſurprize them, unleſs they quickly gathered in their Harveſt, which they were incapable to ſecure, without a Renfort of a thouſand Foot, and a hundred Horſe, payed for two or three moneths; and money alſo to muſter and diſcharge the Forces of the Countrey; that the Duke of *Ventadour*, who with his Army lay round about them, had made them offers of very advantageous conditions, in caſe they would incline to a particular peace, which they hitherto had refuſed, out of hopes of a ſudden, and effectual aſſiſtance, the want of which would neceſſitate them to ſubmit to ſuch a Treaty. *Millaud* alſo preſents him with the ſame doleful Note; and *Alteirac*, Governour of the Town, plainly tells him, that without a freſh ſupply of Souldiers, he could no longer undertake the charge of it; and all the reſt of *Vabres* accord in the ſame demands, either of men, or a Peace.

The Duke of *Rohan* oppreſt with the hourely increaſe of ſuch calamities, ſaw no other expedient for their remedy, but a General Peace, which alſo was attended with many difficulties; for he conceived that the King, ſeeing to what a low ebbe the affairs of the Reformed Party were ſunk, would not abate one jot of the Article touching the Fortifications; and on the other ſide he very well knew, that though the people had no reſolutions to ſtand upon, nor inclinations to prepare for a defence; yet would they never digeſt the demolition of their Works: If he ſhould reſolve to ſtand it out, and ſtruggle with the the threatned extremities,

mities, then he conſidered, that if he quitted *Anduze*, all the *Sevenes* would be loſt, and conſequently all the Garriſons, up to the very Gates of *Montauban*, muſt ſubmit; if he ſtayed there, he ſhould draw a ſiege upon a place no wayes capable to ſuſtain it; but if the King, waving that, ſhould draw towards *Sauve*, the whole Countrey would come in, and every Communalty having made its peace, *Anduze* would be left all forlorn, and diſfurniſhed of Souldiers to maintain it: But the urgency of their affairs obliging him ſuddenly to fix upon ſome courſe that had leaſt of danger in it, he pitched upon a General Peace; which, though accompanied with never ſo many diſadvantages, would be yet better than an abſolute diſſipation of the Edicts, which would be the undoubted conſequence of the particular compoſitions of the ſeveral Communalties; in order to which, he ſummoned an Aſſembly of all the Communalties of the *Sevenes* to be held at *Anduze*, to diſſolve that which was already convened without his permiſſion; and at the ſame time ſent *Montredon* to thoſe that ſate at *la Salle*, to demand a particular Peace; to let them know, that a Provincial Aſſembly, in order to a General Treaty, was convoqued at *Anduze*; and that, if they, notwithſtanding his orders to the contrary, obſtinately continued their Seſſion, he had a command from the Duke to aſſemble the people of *la Salle*, to make known their refractorineſs to them, and to require their aſſiſtance for the apprehending of their perſons, and carrying them away Priſoners; his perſwaſions, with the annexed Menaces, made them at length diſſolve; for Fear is oftentimes very perſwaſive.

After this the Duke ſent for *Caudiac*, a Counſellor in the Chamber of *Languedoc*, who had already made ſeveral journies to the Court, in order to a Peace, and was now but newly returned thence; where he found that their only aime, and chiefeſt hopes now, were, a total diſſipation of the party by particular Treaties; him he deſires once again to return thither, and to tell the Cardinal *de Richelieu* from him, that he was a faithful Subject of the Kings, that he deſired nothing more, than the Tranquillity of the State, and the Repoſe of his own party; and withall, that both he, and the greateſt part of them, would expoſe themſelves and fortunes to all extremities, rather than ſubmit to any Peace, but ſuch as ſhould be General, and Conformable to the former Edicts of pacification; that it was a thing of dangerous conſequence to force an armed Party, how ſmall ſoever, from all hopes of ſafety, but what they ground upon their deſpair of any; and that if the King would vouchſafe to admit of a General Treaty, and allow the General Aſſembly but four dayes time only to remove from *Niſmes* to *Anduze*, and Paſs ports for the

ſafe

safe conduct of their Deputies to come, and Treat with his Commissioners; and that in the mean time all Acts of Hostility might be suspended, he was confident they should conclude a peace: *Caudiac* cheerfully embraced the employment, and obtains the allowance of the four dayes, together with the desired Pass-ports, which he himself was commanded to carry back to the Assembly.

In the mean time every one is very sollicitous to draw his own particular advantage out of this small interval: The Kings party continue their practices in the Province; but with greatest ardour prosecute they the design of *Sauve*, whither, when *Randon* came with the four hundred Souldiers, the disaffected, to exasperate the others, oppress them with quartering, and that they might disgust the people with an apprehension of the Duke's undervaluing of them, quarrel at the person of *Randon*, as a man of too mean quality to command them; and when, according to his Orders he would have mingled his Souldiers with the Inhabitants, to strengthen their Guarders in all quarters, they would by no means suffer it in the Castle, but loudly objected their priviledges against that procedure, as an infringement of them; a prevalent motive to work the populace to any thing; so that upon this ill usage of theirs, *Randon*, unadvisedly told them, that in case they refused him the absolute command of their Town, he had Orders from the Duke of *Rohan* to quit it upon the approach of the King's Army: This inconsiderate expression, so indiscreetly let fall by him, and as nimbly taken up by the disaffected of the Town, had like to have ruined all; for they published strange Comments on it to the people, crying out, that the Duke had sent them men to abandon them, when they should most stand in need of their assistance, and that desired only to possess themselves of their strength, at their cost, to purchase themselves better conditions; so that upon occasion of these jealousies they called a Council, at which they resolved, to die all, rather than admit any stranger into their Castle.

In the midst of their deliberations came letters from the Duke of *Rohan* to convoque the Provincial Assembly at *Anduze*, to consult upon some Articles for a general peace; which mollified them so, that they nominated Deputies to send thither: But when the Council was dissolved, the disaffected exclaim against this as a trick of the Duke of *Rohan* to defeat their particular Treaty, and to surprize, and detain their principal Citizens at *Anduze*, until they delivered up their fortresses into his hands: whereupon they thought fit to send away the next day, but one Deputy only to sound the fonde, and give them notice how things were carried,

that

that accordingly thy might be directed in their comportments; and at the ſame time ſent they another privately to the Count *d' Aletz*, to let him know, that the hopes they had newly received of a General Peace, made them yet defer the performance of what they promiſed; but yet that they ſuſpected it for an invention only to interrupt the progreſſe of the Treaty they were already upon; wherefore they beſeeched him to clear them in that particular, as much as poſſibly he could, and to believe, that in caſe it were not real, that *Sauve* ſhould be at his diſpoſal, of which he might aſſure his Majeſty, and that they had received Letters from the Communalties of *Gange*, *Sunieune*, and *Vigan*, impowring them to treat for them alſo; and that though *Randon* were in the town, yet could they at pleaſure let him into the Caſtle, of which they were ſtill the Maſters.

The King conceiving, upon this newes, that with much facility he might now poſſeſſe himſelf of the *Sevenes*, in all haſte ſent *Caudiac* word, that he ſhould come back again to him, and let alone the general Aſſembly where it was: This Meſſenger found *Caudiac*, and all the Aſſembly on their way towards *Anduze*, ſo that much amazed, they returned the ſame way they came, and *Caudiac*, as little ſatisfied, goes to *Aletz*. In the meane time *Randon*, and *Falquieres* acquaint the Duke of *Rohan* with the final reſolutions of the people of *Sauve*, and the frequent Envoyes paſſing between them, and the Count *d' Aletz*, and that unleſſe ſeaſonable preventions were applyed, the place would be certainly loſt: whereupon he put his power upon the rack for a new ſupply of ſouldiers for them; and that he might the more effectually proceed in the application of his remedies, he ſent to have the wound well ſearched by his Chaplain *Roſſell*, who had been formerly Miniſter of that Church, and of great authority among them: As ſoon as he came thither, and had gotten the Common-Council of the Town together, he preſented them a true ſtate of their affaires, ſhewing how near they were obtaining of a general peace, if they preſerved the union of the Party, which particular compoſitions would divide and ruine; after all which their condition would be nothing more exempt from fears or hazard; that to introduce into their Caſtle, a Gariſon of a contrary Religion, was not the way to preſerve inviolate thoſe liberties they ſeemed ſo jealous of; that it was ill done to call thoſe ſtrangers, who were their kinred and neighbours, and had forſaken their own Houſes, Wives, and Children, to come to their relief; that to refuſe the Generals Orders, and to ſuch perſons, half the Guard of their Caſtle, when as they allow them that of their Walls, and Gates, was a diffidence ill grounded,

ded, and probably of dangerous consequence to the Party, considering the present condition of things; that he very well knew it was publiquely reported, that the Duke of *Rohan*'s forces had not acquitted themselves of their devoir in the Towns lately taken; but that he was as certain that the contrary of it only was true; that at *Privas* the Inhabitants deserted the relief was sent to them; that at *Saint Ambroix* and *Aletz*, they compelled the Garisons to capitulate; and that all the misfortunes that befell those places, flowed from those who either corrupted by the enemy, or perswaded by their own feares, quickly diffused the contagion over all the rest; that they would do well to beware of such plagues, and for the future to yield a greater observance to the General's Orders.

But all these Remonstrances were not sufficient to open the Castle Gates to give admittance to the strangers, which when *Rossel* perceived, he made a Propofition, that the people should nominate a certain number of them, the third of which should be drawn out by lot to be there upon duty every one in his turn, four and twenty houres together. The Common sort approved of this way; but the Consuls, who disliked it, left the Council in distaste; saying, that since they could be no longer trusted, they would discharge themselves of their Offices: But they were called back again; and before the dismission of the Councils, was the Guard established. After this *Rossel* visits *Puyredon*, one of the most eminent of the Town, both for Estate, Wisdome, and Courage, and his particular friend, and one that had discovered a great affection to the Duke of *Rohan*, whom he presses so far, that he at length got from him a confession of the whole negotiation, between the Town, and the Count d' *Aletz*; and upon *Rossels* assuring him, that if they separated not themselves from the Party, a General Peace would be soon concluded; in which should be comprised the business of Repriſals (in which he was interessed to the value of twenty thousand Crowns) *Puyredon* also promised him, that, whatever were the success of the Deputy sent to the Count of *Aletz*, he would order things so, that there should be yet nothing altered for foure and twenty houres.

When he had dispatched with these, he found that *Randon*, nothing pleased with the Agreement, threatned to be gone; but when he told him, that he could not be yet besieged for four dayes, that if he would have patience but for two of them only, he should be furnished with all things he could desire, he was then better satisfied; and *Rossel* departed from *Sauve*; and meeting on the way with the Deputy that had been with the Count of

Aletz,

Alets, he imparted to him the great hopes conceived of a General Peace, to which he gave no other reply than only, *God grant it*; but turning his discourse to the Captain, that convoyed *Rossel*, he told him, that the Duke of *Rohan* had too long abused them by his policies, and that he endeavoured yet, to amuse them with hopes of a General Peace, but only to frustrate their Communalty of the advantageous conditions they might receive from a particular Treaty; but that they were now resolv'd to give no further credit to him, knowing that all his talks of a General Peace was nothing but meer delusion, whereupon the Captain took him prisoner, and carried him with him to *Anduze*.

When *Rossel* came back to the Duke of *Roban*, he gave the Duke an account of his negotiation, telling him, that all his endeavours had no other effect than only somewhat to asswage the tumour, untill he in person should provide a better remedy for it; whereupon he immediately departed thence, and went towards *Sauve*: His arrival there much daunted the disaffected party; but they were now so farre advanced, that they knew not well how to recede from their engagements: The second Consul fled to the Castle; the Duke sent to command him thence, which summons he durst not disobey: When he was come thence, and the rest of the Council were assembled, the Duke acquainted them with the four dayes liberty he had obtained, for the adjourning of the general Assembly to *Anduze*; that he hoped to procure them such a peace, as should redound to their general welfare, provided, that, renouncing all diffidence and jealousies one of another, they preserved an entire unity among themselves; that he had borne armes these eight years past, upon no other design, but the defence of their Religion and Liberties; for which he had as cleare a zeal, as any of them; but that now he was to know of them, whether they would own him for their General or no, and as such would obey him; whereupon the people crying out, that they would submit to him, he resumed his discourse, telling them that he would then go to the Castle, and place there such of the Inhabitants as he should think fit: The Consuls at first refused to follow him, pretending, that since they were not confided in, they would quit their Offices; nevertheless when they saw him go up to the Castle, and that all the people flocked after, they stayed not long behind him, who, when he had turned out, the Guard was then in it, made choice of such a number of the Townsmen, as he thought sufficient to keep it, obliging them by Oath to maintain it under the authority of their Consuls, and for the general good of the whole party, against all persons whatsoever; which gave great satisfaction to the people; and

and when he had left in their Town a thousand men, drawn from *Saint Hippolyte*, *Vigan*, and other places, he returned the same day to *Anduze*.

The news of this came to *Aletz* as soon as *Caudiac*, and so nettled the King's Council, that they exclaimed against the Duke of *Rohan* for breach of promise, saying, that the King had not stirred from *Aletz*, but that the Duke had been at *Sauve*, where he had secured, and furnished the Castle, and the Towers, with souldiers; nevertheless they gave him Orders to return with all speed to the Assembly, but told him withall, that the King would not be obliged to any further stay at *Aletz*: *Caudiac*, who clearly saw that all this choler flowed only from the defeat of their design upon *Sauve*, replied, that the Duke had not bound himself by any engagement not to stir from *Anduze*, but not to make any attempt upon the Towns of the adverse Party; and that to provide for his own, could not be interpreted any breach of promise: After this he went to the Assembly, whom he found much perplexed about the Article concerning the demolition of their fortifications; for that, besides the Deputies formerly sent by them to the Assembly, the Towns of *Nismes* and *Usez* had sent others purposely to oppose that Article, and, if it were possible, to draw in those of the *Sevenes* to fortifie them in that opposition.

Whereupon it was thought fit, before they proceeded to any conclusion, that they should have the opinion of the Provincial Assembly of the *Sevenes*, that accordingly they might order their resolutions; But that Assembly would determine nothing in it, without the advice of the Common-Council of the Town of *Anduze*, which they looked upon as a place the most concerned in the subsistance of the new-raised buildings, and fortifications, and most resolute to defend them: The Council reported their opinion to the Provincial, and the Provincial to the general Assembly; the sum of which, was, that considering the absolute necessity that lay upon them, they should choose Commissioners to Treat about a peace, and that the management of the Article concerning the fortifications, should be referred to their discretions.

The Assembly general, unwilling to undergo the whole burthen of the Treaty, associate with them the new extraordinary Deputies of *Nismes* and *Usez*, and a like number of the Provincial Assembly of the *Sevenes*, who altogether resolved to send their Deputies to the King to demand a peace, and to moderate that Article the best they could.

The Deputies haste away to the Court, where after several conferences had, they agreed on many things, but at the proposal of the aforesaid Article, the King's Commissioners would not en-

endure the mention of any mitigation of it; but thereupon sent back the Commissioners, who reported all to the Assembly, to whom they plainly discovered that it was in vain to hope for any qualification of that Article, which seemed to be thrown in as a stumbling block among them; whereupon the Town of *Andaze*, and the Province of the *Sevenes*, being again consulted, they demonstrated the inevitable ruine of their Province, unless a sudden conclusion of a General Peace prevented it; for that otherwise every one was fully resolved to compound for himself apart; and that the loss of their Province would certainly draw after it that of the lower *Languedoc*; that the fire was now at their doors, and that they had rather submit to that Article, than fail of a Peace.

Whereupon after a full debate of the business, it was at length concluded that they should admit of that Article; and thereupon the Deputies were returned fully impowred to Treat, and conclude a peace: Which done, the Duke of *Rohan* desired the Assembly to give their Deputies an express charge, that when they had perfected their Negotiation for the Publick, they should then mind his particular concernments also, which they did.

Thus was the Peace concluded at *Alets*, the 27th. day of *June*, in the year, 1629. The substance of the principal Articles of which, was as followeth.

1. *That a General Pardon be issued out.*
2. *That the Edict of* Nantes, *and all other Edicts, Articles and Declarations registred in the Parliament-Rolls be put in force.*
3. *That their Temples, and Places of Burial be restored to those of the Religion.*
4. *That all Contributions imposed, during the present, or precedent Broyles, be taken off.*
5. *That they be also acquitted of all Arrears of Impositions, and Taxes laid by any Governours upon those of the Religion, to exempt the* Romanists.
6. *That they be restored to all their Goods moveable, and immoveable, notwithstanding any Gifts, or Confiscations.*
7. *That every one be permitted to re-possess, and re-edifie his own house.*
8. *That all Judgements, both Civil and Criminal, given by those of the Religion, be confirmed.*
9. *That the ancient Orders used before the Wars be observed, both concerning the Consulates, and other Political Assemblies of the particular Towns.*
10. *That they be also discharged of all Accounts, so that the Chamber of Accounts may not demand any review of them.*

11. *That*

11. *That all Courts of Justice, Offices of Receipt, and others, be restored again to those places, whence they were transferred, during the late Wars.*
12. *That the Chamber of* Languedoc *be re-established at* Castres.
13. *That the Assembly of Estates in* Foix *be convened at the usual times.*
14. *That the Inhabitants of* Pamiez *be restored again to their Estates.*
15. *And that all Fortifications be demolished.*

The Deputies Extraordinary of *Nismes* protested against this Peace, Declaring, that if they should accept of it, their Act would be disowned, and themselves killed, when they came home; and at their return, threw the blame of the whole business upon the pretended perfidy of the Duke of *Rohan*, and those of greatest trust about him, by whom they said they had been all sold; and having assembled the chief Officers, both Military and Civil, cause them to oblige themselves by Oath to stand it out to the last, and then sent to the *Sevenes* for some fresh Troops; when they had by this means drawn the Kings Army before the Town, the same persons, who were the Authors of this mutiny, to purchase themselves a reputation at the expence of their Fellow-Citizens, got themselves impowred as Commissioners to Treat for their Town, which derived no other advantage from it, than the spoiling of their Fields and Vineyards; and that which accrued to the Deputies themselves for disposing the Town, to supplicate the King to honour them with his presence.

The Town of *Vsez* without any hesitation at all, accepted the Peace at first; so did all *Roüergue*, the higher *Languedoc*, and *Foix*; nor was any place suspected to refuse it, but *Montauban*; where the Prince of *Condé* would not cease his plundering, untill the King had sent him a second Order to that purpose; and the Town it self, as the Cardinal marched that way, declared their acceptance of the General Peace.

This is an account of what passed in this last War, in which the assistance the Town of *Rochelle* had from *England*, served only to consume their provisions, and draw a Famine on the City; and the vain, and illusory hopes with which *Spain*, and *Savoy*, abused the lower *Languedoc*, had like to have proved the ruine of the whole Party.

God, of his infinite mercy compassionating his poor Churches, hath yet intermixted their sufferings, that by a serious repentance of our faults, and a sincere amendment of our lives, we might at length attract as many benedictions, as our sins have pulled down calamities on them.

The end of the fourth Book.

FINIS.

A

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DIVERS POLITIQUE Diſcourſes Of the DUKE of ROHAN;

Made at ſeveral times upon ſeveral Occaſions.

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DIVERS

DIVERS Politique DISCOURSES OF THE *DUKE of ROHAN*, Made at several Times upon several OCCASIONS.

DISCOURSE I.

Upon the Death of Henry the Great.

IF I had ever cause to mix my own, with the general groanes of *France*, it was at the deplorable Fate of *Henry* the Great, full of sad and dismal Consequences to us, but happy, as to his own particular. For though he lived inviron'd with difficulties, yet did he so surmount them all, that in the mid'st of all, he still remained a Conqueror, alwayes injoyed himself, and at length beheld the ruine of his enemies; some affected by his,

others by their own hands, and the reſt crying out for help. Thus did their total deſtruction give him the opportunity to recollect the ſhattered pieces of this broken State; and by his Wiſdom and Proweſs, to cement and render it more ſtrong and glorious than ever. After his coming to the Crown, he ſpent eight years in reducing it to his obedience; which, though full of thorny Traverſes, may not improperly be called *the happieſt of his life*; every addition to his reputation, proving a firm Bulwark to his State. The true happineſs of a magnanimous Prince conſiſts not in the long poſſeſſion of a great Empire; which many times ſerves only to plunge him in Luxury; but, from a low and deſperate condition to raiſe and eſtabliſh his own Throne, enlarge his Territories, and ſatisfie the nobler Appetite of his Soul and Courage, rather than the ſenſual ſuggeſtions of his body. Our ſleeps are many times more uneaſie in our beds, than in the field; nor is any repoſe ſo ſweet, as that which is the purchaſe of danger. This was the felicity of our late King of immortal memory, who by his indefatigable cares and induſtry, ſnatched Peace, even out of the midſt of perils, and to compleat his happineſs, lived twelve years in a glorious poſſeſſion of it, ſtill augmenting, ſtrengthning and embelliſhing his Eſtate, ſo that he became no leſs the dread, then wonder of his Neighbours, and Arbitrator of all Chriſtendome: But in the height of all this greatneſs, without any apprehenſion either of fear or grief, yielded to a fate, common to many great perſons: But, O Death! more worthy a Tyrant, then ſo ſweet a Prince; Unhappy Death! though not in reſpect of him; yet of his people, whom he hath left to the minion of an Infant, of nine years old; ſurrounded with potent Adverſaries abroad, full of *Boutefeus* within, and diſtracted by the ſeveral Intereſts of the Princes and Religion. Let us juſtly then bewail the greateſt King the world ever knew, who was good to all, injurious to no man; whoſe death hath bereaved *France* of Him, who made her terrible to her neighbours, preſerved her in Peace, and Unity within her ſelf, and enriched her with all ſorts of good. But from this happy condition are we fallen under the Reign of an Infant, and expoſed to the Conduct of a Princeſs, little verſed in Affaires, and oppoſed by the Grandees of the Kingdome, ambitious to advance themſelves, during the weakneſs of her Government, in which, private deſignes ſuppreſs the Good and publique intereſts. The Treaſures are profuſed, the Arſenals embezilled, and all at the diſpoſition of Favouritees.

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The comparison of the present, with our former condition, will sufficiently discover the just cause we have to deplore our Prince: so insensible are we of our good, that we never apprehend it, but by its want and absence. *France*, in His life time flourished with such prosperity, as twelve hundred years before could never parallel. His death hath fatally enhaunsed the price of our Repose: Whil'st he lived, the only awe of Him restrained the mischievous, whom now His death hath encouraged in their wickedness, leaving them at liberty to pursue with a full career their pernicious Machinations. The still fresh memory of his Name, retains them yet in some respect; but every succeeding day that carries us to a further distance from Him, are so many advances in the way to disobedience and rebellion. Those who have seen the Reign of *Charles* the ninth, with that deluge of evils that afterwards overwhelmed all *France*; will make an easie conjecture of her present danger. *Charles* the ninth came to the Crown when he was two years older than our present King, governed by the Queen his mother; a wise and politique Princess, and yet what sad effects attended his Reign? The same Factions, the same Interests, and Pretences are yet in being; though not in the same vigour: For our King *Henry* weakened them, yet have they now opportunity to recruite again. The power of our enemies abroad is nothing lessened, nor their Will to hurt us any thing abated. Moreover, the defects in the management of precedent Actions, are so many instructions, and profitable precepts for this present age, to direct them in the Government of theirs: Then were we Novices in the Art of sowing the seeds of discord, in which every one is become a Master. The ambitious humours of men are rather encreased, than diminished. These considerations are enough to make us sensible of the danger of the State, and of our own loss. 'Tis neither hopes of my own particular advancement, nor fear of the ruine of the Reformed Party, that moves my tears: I too well knew how jealous the King was of persons of my Quality and Religion, and am very sensible, that we were never more considerable, than at present: For that we have now no Princes of the blood amongst us, is an addition to our strength; for when we had them, they were not ours, but we were their support, and did their business at our costs. *France* was then divided by the houses of *Bourbon* and *Lorain*, but the pretence was taken from the difference of Religion; but now since both the one, and the

other profeſs the *Romiſh* Faith; the former colour is gone, but the Diviſion of the *Popiſh* party leaves us at liberty to adhere to which party we pleaſe: I deplore in the loſs of our invincible King, that of *France* in general: I bewail his Perſon, and regret the glorious opportunity we have loſt; and from the bottom of my heart, grieve at the manner of his end: Our own experience will ſoon inform us, how juſt a Subject he is for our Tears: The people murmure already, and ſeem to propheſie their future calamities: The Townes are guarded, as if they expected a Siege: The Nobility ſeek their ſafety amongſt the moſt eminent of their own Order; whoſe factions give them large apprehenſions of danger, but not the leaſt appearance of any ſecurity. In ſhort, he can be no true *French* man, whom the loſs of this good Genius of *France* doth not even kill with Grief: Together with his perſon, I deplore his Courteſie and Affability, his ſweet and obliging Converſation: The Honour he did me, the admittance he vouchſafed me, even to his moſt private receſſes, oblige me not only to lament him, but even not to love my ſelf in thoſe places, where the ſight of my good Prince formerly afforded me ſuch infinite happineſs: I regret the moſt noble and heroick enterprize was ever yet heard of. It is not credible that the Equipage of thirty thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, a Train of Artillery of ſixty Gunnes, and Ammunition for ſixty thouſand ſhot, with all other furniture compleat, beſides the Army then in *Dauphine*, and the Recruites ſent to the Frontier Townes, ſhould be deſigned for the ſiege of *Julliers*, which was ſince attempted with eight thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe: An opportunity I ſhall never meet again, at leaſt under the conduct of ſo great a Captain, and with ſo ardent a deſire to ſerve and learn the uſe of Armes under his direction: An Army, ſuch as no preceding King of *France* could ever raiſe; which yet, had there been occaſion, he could have kept on foot ten years, without the leaſt oppreſſion or injury to his People. Have I not then juſt cauſe to lament the loſs of the only opportunity I ever had, to ſhew my Zeal, Courage and Fidelity to my King? Seriouſly, each thought of it breaks my heart: One Puſh of Pike given in his preſence, had been a greater ſatisfaction to me, than to win a Battle now. Much more ſhould I value the leaſt praiſe from him, in that Art, of which he was the greateſt Maſter of his time, then the Elogie of all other Captaines now alive. I grieve at the manner of his deplorable death:

A Prince compoſed of Sweetneſs and Clemency, which never did condemn an Innocent to death; whoſe very victories were unbloody, contenting himſelf only to reclaim his enemies to their obedience, whom he hath afterwards cheriſhed as his Friends, and laden them with his favours. A Prince ſlow to anger, and moſt prone to pardon, without gall or any revengefull thought, beloved and feared. And yet in the midſt of his chief City, which he had made the Miracle of the world, attended by two hundred Gentlemen, in his Coach full of Princes and Lords, he received a fatal ſtab with a knife, by a man, not animated by any deſire of Revenge for any diſguſt received, nor excited by any of his Neighbours, fearfull or emulous of his generous Deſignes, but inſtigated only by the Writings and Sermons of the *Jeſuites*, who after all this, bluſh not to call themſelves *French men*, and can behold this diſmall ſpectacle without inflicting on themſelves the puniſhment due to that execrable Doctrine, taught by them, which promiſes Paradiſe to the *Aſſaſſinates* of Kings: Who, that ever lived under this moſt Auguſt Prince, as I have done, can take pleaſure in theſe preſent times? I will now therefore divide my life into two parts, and call that part of it I have already paſt, *Happy*, ſince it was imployed in the ſervice of *Henry* the Great; and that which I have yet to come *unfortunate*, and ſpend it in Lamentations, Teares, Sighs and Complaints: And out of the honour which I owe his Memory, I will devote the Remainder of my dayes (the Kingdome of God being preſerved intire) to the ſervice of *France*, becauſe it was his Kingdome; to the King, becauſe he is his Sonne, and to the Queen, becauſe ſhe was once his dear Companion and Spouſe.

DISCOURSE II.

At the Aſſembly at Saumure.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

ALthough this be not the firſt Aſſembly, that hath been held upon the ſame occaſion, yet may it prove the ſource from whence will flow much good or evill to the Reformed Churches in this Kingdom. We are now happened on a *Carefour*, where many wayes meet; but there is only one that leads to our ſafety. The life of *Henry* the Great was our preſervation; which we muſt now expect from our own vertue. God hath taken him from us, that we might no longer place our confidence in him, whom he had given to us and all Chriſtendome, for theirs and ours Repoſe: He hath deprived us of him, as unworthy the continuance of that Mercy; or elſe to become himſelf our Raiſer and Defence, even when all humane helps faile us; provided that our intentions be good and holy. We muſt therefore come to this Aſſembly with a moſt ardent zeal to preſerve the Peace of this Eſtate, and eſpecially of the Church, and lay aſide all Animoſities, Paſſion and particular Intereſts; that with more Freedome and Alacrity, we may ſet about his work, and conſequently expect a bleſſing on our actions. What greater glory can we be ambitious of, than every man in his place, to be an inſtrument to ſupport, confirm and augment his declining, weak, and almoſt deſolated Church? to which every one ought to contribute his aſſiſtance, according to the Talent God hath lent him. We have only the uſe, not property of any thing in this world, where we are only Strangers and Paſſengers, and not to fix our abode: This mortal is not to be prolonged but in order to an eternal life: Let us therefore be as carefull in the ſervice of our God, as the wicked are in that of the Devil. Let us imitate them, not in their wickedneſs, but in purſuing with

an equal zeal the Kingdome of Christ, as they do that of Sathan. Let there be only this difference seen between us, that we endeavour our preservation by just and lawfull wayes, while the others use all manner of fraude and treachery to undermine and ruine us. It behoves us to beware of them, it being of great concernment to us.

We must therefore fix upon three particulars, as the most essential, and on which all our other concernments depend. The first is Unity among our selves. The second, Our Admission to all manner of Offices. The third and last, to provide for our places of security. Both Reason and Examples have ever taught us, that Concord is the Cement and Stay of all States and Societies, as Discord is the dissipation and overthrow. Let us be therefore more exact in the practice of this Maxime than formerly, it being the very foundation of our whole Structure. And therefore have I begun with this Proposition, as being of the greatest Importance, and most difficult Execution, though it depend entirely upon our own Wills. What Encouragement will it be to our Enemies, to refuse us that, which is in their power, when our own Divisions make so palpable a discovery of our weakness? What advantage shall we give them to break in upon us, when our own Dissentions open them the Gates? And yet this hath been our constant practise hitherto. Is it not strange, that Reason, the only distinction between us and beasts, and which alone gives us light to discern between good and evil, should so mislead us to the preferring the riches of the world, before the advancing of the Kingdome of God: the revenging of our own, before his Quarrel: the vanity of being instruments of mischief to our neareſt Relations, before our own salvation? In short, that Avarice, Revenge and Ambition should usurp the possession of our souls, and exclude those vertues whose proper seat they are. Let us make our humble applications to God, that he would please to redress these our failings, and to assist us with his Grace, that our words and promises, which have been hitherto fraudulent and tracherous, may for the future, prove infallible pledges of our Fidelity. Let the care then of this Assembly extend to all persons; Let it receive the addresses of all particulars, and inquire also into the condition of those whose modesty will not give them leave to be importunate. Let it impartially do Justice according to the merits of the causes, that so they may have no cause to seek their Protection elsewhere. In this case

the strength of our hands, for if we are remiss in this point, all will abandon us, and submit themselves to new Protection. Let us also make an order obliging all the Provinces of this Kingdome to submit and adhere to the resolutions of the Assembly: And to this end we must establish a Council, in which all may bear a part; By this means shall we defeat the hopes of such as pretend to the Protection of the Churches, who thrust themselves in amongst us, only to purchase their own ends at our cost. And let us hold for an undoubted Maxime, that, *None pretends to such a Power, but merely to cheat all Parties.* We can acknowledge no other Protector then our King, since he is our Soveraign, and we his Subjects, who never yet held any correspondence with the enemies of the State, but, notwithstanding all Massacres and tormenting flames, have faithfully served our Prince when he hath commanded us, and therefore with good reason may we demand, and insist upon an admission to all Offices and Dignities under him. It were a most high cruelty, that we, who are members of the State, *French*-men born, should be excluded from that which even strangers enjoy, and that by the sollicitation of those who teach, that, *A mortal man can, when he pleases, absolve Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance*, and condemn our Religion for that; on the contrary, it injoynes Obedience to our Princes, though Infidels. It is not to be doubted, but that when such Persons have the Kings ear, we shall meet many difficulties in this Affair: But our Resolution and Unity must surmount them; for unless we obtain it, we cannot live with honour. But such is our baseness, that instead of assisting, we bend all our studies to supplant one another, and are more envious at the advancement of our brethren than our enemies. Hence comes it, that we are so ill treated as we are: Let us all therefore see where we have failed in this particular, and resolve upon such a constancy as may purchase us the satisfaction we justly aim at, else shall we our selves give others cause to believe us guilty of Treason: To us will be imputed all the Murthers the *Jesuites* have committed on our Kings, if in their steed we bear the punishment due to them. But these considerations will be of no validity, unless we look better after our Cautionary Townes than heretofore: By a fair and gentle complyance to reclaim our enemies from their malicious designes, is a good way; but to deprive them of all means, to effect them; is a surer: Both the one and the other is feasible, provided

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are conjoyne things; for unleſs we compaſs the latter, the former will be of ſmall force. Our amity will be more ſought after, when freed from the fear of our enemies, we ſhall be in a capacity to relieve our friends: To this end we muſt reſolutely inſiſt upon the Article concerning our places of Security, whoſe continuation is of greater concernment to us now then ever: If the late King conceived it juſt, how much more profitable is it now for the State during the Minority and Nonage of this, to reſtrain the extravagant liberty our enemies might take, even in contempt of the Royal Authority it ſelf to rekindle that fire, and open again that iſſue of blood, which our great Henry by his indefatigable pains, and with the loſs of his own, hath happily quenched and ſtopped. The Minority of *Charles* the ninth, ought to be an example to warn all good people, to labour to avoid the like miſchiefs; but the ſame example alſo animates all *Bouteſeus* and Diſturbers of the State to make uſe of their time, and the preſent opportunity, to execute their malicious intentions againſt it: We have an Intereſt in it, as being a part of it, if not the greateſt, yet at leaſt the beſt, and for whoſe ſake, God in Mercy preſerves the reſt.

And now in order to thoſe places of ſecurity, we muſt firſt endeavour the regaining thoſe we have loſt, or others in their room; that ſo we may cut off our enemies hopes of diminiſhing their number for the future: Next we muſt obtain a confirmation of them for a certain number of years, until all cauſes of jealouſies be removed, and to remedy all abuſes committed in the government of them. But how ſhall we reſolve on theſe things, or with what face can we demand that, which depends upon the Wills of others, when our own avarice tempts us to convert the Money deſigned for the preſervation of the publique to our own private uſe, when the garriſons from whence we expect our ſafety, are miraculouſly tranſubſtantiated into Lands and Moveables? Certainly this is a moſt deplorable condition, and ſo great is our Lethargie, that the examples and inconveniences of ſuch miſcarriages can not yet awaken us. We are juſt like Little Children, who think themſelves ſafe when they have ſhut their eyes, and are never ſenſible of their Errours, till made ſo by the puniſhment. In ſuch a caſe Repentance avails neither the Publique, nor particular Intereſts.

I know theſe things, though Juſt will meet with much oppoſition: They will check our Preſumption for asking more then we enjoyed in the late Kings Reign, and tell us, that for the preſervation of the Peace, in the Infancy of this

this, we ought to content our ſelves with the like uſage: To which we may anſwer, that it is the change of the Government that creates in us theſe jealouſies: What privileges in many places, have been granted to the Clergy to our prejudice? What fears, have terrified us, ſince the fatal parricide of our *Henry* the Great? the Intereſts of State are varyed by ſeveral Emergencies, nor can there be any certain Maxime preſcribed them: That which is neceſſary for one King, is prejudicial to another. If a King of *France* ſhould now become a Perſecutor of our Religion, he would looſe the Protection of it in all Chriſtendome, enriching another of his Neighbour-Princes with that Title, and gaining no credit at all by it among thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, would utterly ruine his own Kingdome: which cannot happen to a King of *Spain* upon the like occaſion, for that he cannot loſe the Reputation he hath not, nor can it bring any further troubles upon his States, ſince in this quarrel, he hath already loſt all the *Low Countreys*, and hath no more Subjects of our Religion: I ſay moreover, that the ſituation of *France*, in the mid'ſt of many other Kingdomes, and the free exerciſe of our Religion in it, purchaſe to our Kings that Reputation and Power, they have among all other Potentates of *Europe*, which they will ſtill continue, while they indulge us with the liberty of Subjects. Wherefore if the King be well counſelled, he will accord us the things before mentioned; if ill, it is better to know it timely, then to expect the extremitity. Let our only aim be the glory of God, and the ſecurity of thoſe Churches, which he hath ſo miraculouſly planted and preſerved in this Kingdome: Let us cordially ſeek the good one of another, but by lawfull means; Let us religiouſly reſolve to ask nothing, but what is abſolutely neceſſary for us, and be reſolved in the purſuit of our demands; and then let us be aſſured, that he, that out of the aſhes of ſo many Martyrs hath raiſed ſo many of his Elect in *France*, to glorifie him, will preſerve and encreaſe their number daily. Honour and glory be given to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. *Amen.*

DISCOURSE

DISCOURSE III.

Upon the State of France during the Perſecutions at S. John.

'Tis with inexpreſſible grief that I begin this Diſcourſe, with the misfortunes the deplorable death of *Henry* the Great hath brought upon all Chriſtendome, and principally upon *France*: A Prince born in a forlorn and perſecuted Party, whom yet God raiſed to be their Preſerver, ſupported and maintained him againſt all the powers of Chriſtendome, and conducted Him, as it were, by the hand, to the Government of the *French* Monarchy. His Actions were ſo many Miracles, and worthy Precedents for ſucceeding Ages. The Conſpiracies and Troubles he broke and went thorow when he was King of *Navarre*, gave him a perfect knowledge of ſome perſons whom he had never diſcovered as King of *France*. His paſt-neceſſities had taught him a generous toleration even of the hardeſt toyl and poverty, and to bear the diſcontents both of great and ſmall; and in ſhort, to ſuffer all the calamities incident to the chief of a Party in a State, where the conveniencies of a whole Kingdome were employed to his Deſtruction: Having vanquiſhed all theſe difficulties, and conquered by his Wit and Courage that, which his Birth-right had given him a juſter Title to, he became at length a Peaceful King of the moſt puiſſant and glorious Kingdome of all Chriſtendome, which yet, by reaſon of its long and languiſhing maſteries, but for his perſon, had been inconſiderable; incapable to aſſiſt their Neighbours, nay to ſubſiſt without them; but in twelve years after he came to the Crown, becomes more rich, the Townes better built, and the whole was raiſed to a more flouriſhing condition than ever; he himſelf more abſolute, his Treaſures and Arſenals better ſtored, his Frontiers better fortified, his true and ſolid Allyes more ſtrengthned, and his enemies more weakned

weakened, then any Prince could either hope or wiſh; In ſhort, he was the Arbitrator of all Chriſtendome, graſped the whole power of Peace and Warre in his hands; and even all the Affairs of *Europe* had their entire dependance upon him. In this proſperous condition did our great *Henry* leave us; We were the terrour of our enemies, and the *Aſylum* of our friends: Our *France*, with its Chief, was then looked on as the moſt conſiderable part of the world: But let us now reflect on our change, and conſider whence it proceeds. It is true, God raiſes up and removes good Princes, according as his good pleaſure is, either to favour, or to chaſtiſe the people of the earth, eſpecially when by extraordinary wayes, he either ſends or recalls them, which is apparent in the life and death of *Henry* the Great: For if his actions when living, were ſo highly conducing to our repoſe; what ſeem, with our juſt plaints may we not conceive from his violent death? A death not according to the courſe of nature, nor by accident, but upon a diabolical deliberation confirmed by the Sermons and Writings of the *Jeſuites*, by a moſt impious Act perpetrated in the height of all his Conqueſts, and Magnificence; in the midſt of his great Town of *Paris*, encompaſſed with his Nobility and People. Let us not therefore, after our ſins, impute our change from good to bad to any thing, but the death of our good King, whoſe Reputation did for ſome time preſerve the Affairs of *Europe* in a pretty good eſtate; but the farther we remove from his Reign, the greater change ſhall we diſcover in them. *Europe* hath now another face; which before was ballanced by the two Powers of *France* and *Spain*: The firſt having without contradiction all the Proteſtants under its Protection, or leagued with it, ſharing with the other, thoſe of the *Romiſh* Faith. Powers which cannot ſuffer the one the other, and whom the ſtricteſt bonds of Marriages cannot unite, by reaſon of their mutual Jealouſies and Fears, of the increaſe or diminution of either; Moreover the equality of theſe, is the ſafety of the reſt, which are much concerned in it, and which otherwiſe would be eaſily the prey of the ſuperiour of the two: But now we may perceive an alteration of that Method: The late Allyance between *France* and *Spain* makes all their Confederates look about them, eſpecially thoſe of *France*, who ſee clearly, that ſhe hath been only courted but to her own, and conſequently their ruine; A cunning Policy was it indeed of *Spain*, to perſwade the Queen, that theſe Alliances would fortifie and confirm her Authority, ſo that none of the Princes of

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the bloud, nor any other ſhould at any time dare to enter into any conteſt with her. Theſe indeed were very plauſible reaſons, but of no depth, nor ſolidity: For againſt whom ſhould ſhe fortifie her ſelf, but *Spain*? and with whom, but thoſe of a joint intereſt with her? and yet we practiſe the clean contrary, take counſel of our irreconcileable enemies, and enter into Allyances with them, to ruine our friends, or at leaſt to loſe them to our ſelves, while willing to ſave themſelves, they ſeek their protection elſe where: Theſe are the effects of the *Spaniſh* Council, or rather the operations of their double Piſtols upon the Council of *France*: Theſe are the fruits we are to expect from this Allyance with *Spain*, who joyning with the Pope, can have no other aim then the deſtruction of the Allyes of *France*, and the better part of the Nation it ſelf.

But let us now conſider, who have been till now the Correſpondents of thoſe two great parts of *Europe*, their power, and who is moſt likely to loſe by the exchange of their *Partiſans*. *France* hath *England*, the *Venetian*, the States of the *Low-Countries*, *Savoy*, the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the *Cantons* of *Switzers*, and the greateſt part of the Imperial Townes; all equally intereſſed for fear of the houſe of *Auſtria*, which is that of *Spain*; but for different Reaſons. *England* is yet mindfull of the pretenſions of *Spain*, witneſs the great *Armado* in the year 1588. and that deſign of aboliſhing the Reformed Religion reflects principally upon that Kingdome. *Venice* is jealous of her Neighbour *Milan*, and of the increaſe of the King of *Spains* Power in *Italy*; for that undoubtedly his deſign is to render himſelf the abſolute Monarch of it all. The *Low Countries* have but newly ſhook off the yoak of his Tyranny; they hate and fear Him; and will rather hazard all than ſubmit again to it. There's none that is not ſenſible of the ſweetneſs of liberty, and what then will not a people do to continue themſelves in the poſſeſſion of that, hath been their own dear purchaſe. The Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* have they not juſt cauſe to fear, and even abhor the houſe *Auſtria*, and by all means to oppoſe the farther progreſs of their ambition, ſince it hath robbed them of the Empire, which they have almoſt entailed on their Familie? the broad way to ſlavery into which they are now declining, and nothing but an extream diligence can prevent their fall. The *Cantons* of the *Switzers*, who for the greateſt part have ſlipt their necks alſo out of the *Auſtrian* yoak, are not they concerned to prevent his new conqueſt of them? eſpecially thoſe of our Religion, againſt whom he will neither want Pretences nor Aſſiſtances from *Rome*.

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The Dukes of *Savoy* and *Lorain* are ſeated ſo near to *France*, that though they have for a long time paſt embraced the *Spaniſh* Party, yet now they ſeem to incline to *France*: The former by reaſon of his pretenſions to the *Duchy of Millane*, promiſed to his Lady in Partage; And the ſecond for the facility for a King of *France* to ruine him at his pleaſure: There remain only the Imperial Townes of *Germany*, whoſe Intereſt is the ſame with the other Proteſtant Princes, I omit *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Polonia*, and the other more remote States, for that their Intereſts are not conjoyn'd with ours.

The *Spaniſh* Party conſiſts of the Emperour, the Arch-Duke *Albert*, who are of the ſame houſe: of the *German* Princes of the *Romiſh* Belief, and the Impetial Townes of the ſame profeſſion, by reaſon of their naif-intelligence with the Proteſtants: of all the Princes of *Italy*, whom fear rather than love aſſociates with them; of the *Papiſh Cantons* of the *Switzers* invited by their *Penſions* to a conjunction with them; and of the Authority of the Pope, who while with a reſolute conſtancy maintaining our Allyances, we ſhew our invincible power, keeps himſelf as *Neuter*, though his inclinations be wholly *Spaniſh*. For there are two things that exaſperate him againſt us, the loſs of his Authority, and his revenew in thoſe places which we poſſeſs: which Jealouſie the King of *Spain* foments, that ſo feeding him with the fancy of a ſpiritual Monarchy over all Chriſtendome himſelf, under pretence of extirpating Hereſies, might gain the temporal. Thus all their deſignes concenter, to work our deſtruction.

But let us now examine theſe two great powers, and ſee whether of them is the more conſiderable: *France* is a large and potent Kingdom, abounding in all neceſſaries; rich in Nobility, good Souldiers, and good Mariners, furniſhed with good Ports, aptly ſeated to receive the Supplies of their above named friends, *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* make up a powerfull State; being Nations naturally valiant, both by Sea and Land, full of Souldiers and good Ships, and able to raiſe and entertain a gallant Army. The ſtate of *Venice* exceeds in ſtrength all the other ſtates of *Italy*; hath vaſt Treaſure, and may juſtly aſſume the Title of Maſter of the Sea, there being no other power in *Italy*, nay not all the reſt together that can equal it for the number of good Gallyes, and other Veſſels. The *Low Countries* is a State, whoſe ſtrength I infinitely eſteem and admire; fourty years have they maintained War againſt the King of *Spain*, from which

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they are but newly freed: they have the flower of good Officers and Souldiers, whoſe entertainment they continue, even in times of Peace, they are well ſtor'd with money, and keep an Army on foot, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and a Train ready to march upon all occaſions. As for the Sea, they are without contradiction the abſolute Maſters of it, ſo that they can, when they pleaſe, aid their friends, and obſtruct the relief of their enemies; witneſs the Army of the Prince of *Parma* againſt the *Engliſh*, which they ſtopped in their havens, and other Maritime places of the Arch Duke, which during that War, were continually blocked up by Sea. As for the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, and the Imperial Towns, every one knowes how ſa their force exceeds that of the *Romaniſts*: And for the *Switzers*, money commands them at any time. There remains only the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Lorain*; they are Princes, eſpecially the former, able to raiſe conſiderable numbers: As for their convenience to aſſiſt on the other, a map of *Europe* will plainly diſcover, that no other power can obſtruct it.

And now ſet us reflect on the other power; and firſt, *Spain* is a great Kingdome, not well peopled, nor over fertile, ſeated in a corner of the world, and fitter to maintain, than inlarge its confines; inviroined with the Sea and the *Pyrenean* hills; which of it ſelf alone is not comparable to *France*: but it hath large Territories both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, whence it derives great Treaſures, which puffe it up with ambition of the Monarchy of Chriſtendome. Moreover in *Italy* it hath the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with the Duchy of *Millan*, and eight or nine Provinces in *Flanders*; for though the *Infanta* have them now in *Portage*, yet hath it the ſole and abſolute authority and diſpoſition of them. Seriouſly the Dominions of *Spain* are of a vaſt extent, and were they all contiguous, would far tranſcend the Power of *France*: But it is neceſſitated to ſpend all the Revenews of *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Millan* in Garriſons and Armyes to preſerve them, and to imploy all the profit of the *Indies* for the conſervation of *Flanders*, by reaſon of the continual expences it is imployed to there, both for the tranſporting and paying of thoſe Armyes: Beſides, the King of *Spain* wants men, and hath need of *Spaniards* in more places then he can furniſh with them, and is enforced to uſe great ſeverity to make them march. In ſhort, his Dominions bring him in more Anxieties than profit.

The Emperour, who precedes him in Honour, but comes

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ſhort of his power, hath a great enemy to ſtruggle with, *viz.* The *Turk*, whom he cannot withſtand without aſſiſtance, and therefore is he very incapable to relieve others. The *Arch-Duke* is comprehended under the power of *Spain*, and neither dares, nor can attempt any thing without its conſent and ſupplies. The *Germane* Princes and the Imperial Towns which own the *Romiſh* Church, are very inconſiderable, being far inferiour to the others in ſtrength. Nor are the Princes of *Italy* of any conſideration; except the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, who indeed wants neither men nor money: As for the *Switzers*, money draws them to any party; nor is the *Spaniard* confederated, but with the *Romiſh Cantons*, whereas the Allyance of the *French* with them is General. There remains now only the Power of the *Pope*, which heretofore, in times of Ignorance and ſuperſtition, was very great, his excommunications routing whole Armies, and transferring Crowns from one head to another, at his pleaſure; but they are now grown ridiculous, and hurt only thoſe that are afraid of them; his ſtrength conſiſts only in Fulminations. As for the wayes *Spain* hath to convey relief to its ſeveral members, they are very long, and full of difficulties and dangers: For firſt, *France* ſeparates *Spain* and *Flanders*; and *Provence* can at any time obſtruct the paſſage from thence into *Italy*; *Burgundy*, *Breſſia*, *Lorain*, and the *Venetian* Signiory divides the reſt of *Italy* from *Germany* and the *Low Countries*: In a word, the Dominions of *Spain* are of a vaſt and wonderfull extent, and in outward appearance invincible: but they lye ſo ſcattered and with ſuch difficulty and inconvenience can they joyn, that it takes off much of their ſtrength; whereas on the contrary thoſe of *France*, are compacted, united, and ready upon all occaſions either for defence of themſelves, or invaſion of their enemies.

Theſe are the two principal Potentates of *Europe*, to wit, *France* and *Spain*, and it is of no ſmall importance to them both to preſerve their reputation with their *Partiſans*, which is of no great difficulty to the King of *Spain*; for that all his Subjects and Allyes are of his own Religion, or his own Family, or obliged by intereſt to exterminate the Proteſtants. So that none of them can entertain a Jealouſie that he ſhould change his Intelligences: But 'tis not ſo with the King of *France*, for he himſelf profeſſes the *Romiſh* Religion, and hath many Subjects of the Reformed, and many confederates that are *Papiſts*, though the ſtrength of his Party conſiſts in the Proteſtants: ſo that if he order not well his

Affaire

Affairs with them, but entring into an aſſociation with *Spain*, perſecutes his Proteſtant Subjects, he will utterly loſe them all. But perhaps they preſume upon a confidence, that the Reformed party cannot joyn with the King of *Spain*: But rather then they will ſubmit to their ruine, they may unite and chooſe the King of *England* for their Protectour, which would be the abſolute deſtruction of *France*: And can we then be ſo far infatuated, as to offer up our ſelves a ſacrifice to the inſatiable and endleſs ambition of the *Pope*, and the *King* of *Spain*? Is it not evident, that this muſt needs draw a civill War on *France*, which is more to be feared than the fulminations of the *Pope*, who ſince he cannot ruine *France* by forraign Armes, endeavours to do it by her own.

Certainly it is the Judgement of *God*, puniſhing us for our ſins, that we cannot ſee, apprehend, nor ſeek to avoid thoſe evils, which even our own Counſels, reſolutions & remedies preſcribed for their redreſs have diſcovered to us for forty years together, and which have reduced our poor *France* to extremities, from which nothing but a miracle can raiſe her. The ſame parties are ſtill in being: The firſt, the *Queen-Mother*, who ſeeks to eſtabliſh her authority in the ſame manner, as did her Predeceſſour; and to that end, diſgraces and ſuppreſſes the Princes of the blood; uſing the power and aſſiſtance of the houſe of *Guiſe*, to which is joyned that of *Monſieur d'Eſpernon*; ſtrengthens her ſelf, not with the real friends of the Crown, but with ſuch as aim and endeavour to weaken it by diviſions, as the King of *Spain*, and the *Pope*. This is a ſtrong and conſiderable Party; but compoſed of perſons that deſire rather the deſtruction, than preſervation of the State: That which is their greateſt Prop is, that they abuſe the royal Authority, authenticating all their diſpatches and actions with the name of *Lewis* the thirteenth, although to his prejudice and detriment: The ſecond, is compoſed of the Princes of the blood; who are ſenſible of the ruine of their Houſe, but are not in a capacity to prevent or remedy it; having by their revolt from their Religion, loſt thoſe who were their Father's greateſt ſupport, ſo that they have Juſtice, but no force on their ſide. The third party, is that of the Religion, bound by their conſcience to a confederacy with all the Proteſtants of Chriſtendome: a party able of it ſelf to maintain *France*, as it hath formerly done; having preſerved the Princes of that houſe, nouriſhed and bred up *Henry* the Great, the Reſtorer of this State, whoſe enemies knowing that the ſtrength of this Party conſiſts in its Union, Diſcipline and Places of ſecurity, have ſet all their ſubtleties on work to ſubvert thoſe foundations; which evidently

appeared in the Aſſembly at *Saumure*, where money, Penſions and Menaces were all employed to corrupt Perſons capable to raiſe a Schiſm amongſt them, and in that diviſion to ruine them; As alſo by the Paſs-port given to the Deputies of the particular Aſſemblies, by the Declaration which they cauſed to be verified in the Parliaments, in which they expreſly forbid the Diſcipline ever eſtabliſht among us, and without which we cannot provide for our neceſſities: by the induſtry they uſe to get into their hands our cautionary Townes; working on the eaſineſs of ſome of our Governours, and furniſhing other confidents of their own with means to purchaſe the Governments from honeſt men; endeavouring, to the violation of the Priviledges of particular Corporations, to make their own creatures Majors, and labouring by all means to ſupplant and eject out their commands ſuch as oppoſe their deſignes, well knowing, that our places of ſecurity once failing us, we can no longer ſubſiſt: and in all theſe deſignes ſo pernicious and deſtructive to the State, is the *King's* Authority made uſe of. Thus have you had a view of the ſeveral Parties in *France*, what are their deſignes, and by whom maintained. The one covers all their miſchievous machinations with the Royal Authorities: The other exclaims againſt the evil Government, but it is not heard: The third complaines of their oppreſſion, but are not eaſed; and even untill this preſent time ſuch effectual operation hath their money had upon the degenerous and perfidious ſouls of the two latter parties, that they have been the ſcorn and deriſion of the former; and the Counſels of mean inconſiderable Fellows, Penſioners of *Rome* and *Spain*, preferred before thoſe of the Princes of the blood, and the other Grandees of the Realm: But if the aforeſaid Princes, and thoſe of the Religion would but reflect upon their miſcarriages, and endeavour to correct them, and unite their juſt plaints and intereſts, and like good Chriſtians, never be induced by any promiſe to forſake the one the other, to the prejudice of either, they would undoubtedly raiſe both themſelves and the State from this abject and ruinous condition, and would one day receive both the thanks and profit of it: But if fear or avarice, or both together, ſhall impede the union of theſe two parties, or keep them from embracing ſuch generous and neceſſary reſolutions, this will be the iſſue of it, and God grant it prove no Propheſie; *France* will be the Theatre on which will be executed all the deſignes both of *Rome* and *Spain*, upon all good *French-men* and Chriſtians. And when

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the Evil ſhall tranſcend all humane Remedy, thoſe who have yet left ſome ſparks of love to God and their Countrey, will have no other conſolation than to bewail their paſt errors, and to ſubmit to that yoak which their own imprudence hath drawn, and a Forraigner ſhall impoſe upon them. For we may not imagine, that that party, which by the aſſiſtance of the *Popes* Fulminations, and the Forces of the King of *Spain*, ſhall ſubdue the other two, ſhall enjoy its Conqueſt: Theſe Princes take not ſo much paines for our good. Their conſpiracies againſt *France* are ſo far from being extinct, that they are now renewed with greater vigour and hopes of every thing ſucceeding according to their wiſh: The reſtoring of the *Jeſuites*, the death of *Henry* the Great, the Regency of the Kingdome ſetled in the houſe of *Medicis*, the State governed by the ancient Penſioners of *Rome*, all other Officers being removed, and the ſupport of it founded on the houſe of *Loraine*; the Princes of the blood deprived of the Authority due unto them; and a diviſion made among the Proteſtants; all which evils being in ſo ſhort time fallen upon this State, encourages their hopes of effecting their long ſince projected deſignes. But if the Princes of the blood, during the minority of *Lewis* the thirteenth, retain any Reliques of Generoſity, or thoſe of the reformed Religion any ſparks of Piety, they will yet oppoſe the ruine of the State threatned by theirs: For *France* cannot long ſubſiſt, if the Royal Family be oppreſt, and the Proteſtants perſecuted: whoſe ſubſiſtence alſo depends upon the preſervation of the Crown, whoſe deſtruction can neither be effected, but that the Kingdome will be reduced to ſo weak a condition, that it will remain a prey to the firſt Uſurper, or be brought to an intire deſolation: Let theſe conſiderations then teach us Wiſdome, before an abſolute impoſſibility to redreſs our evils, leave us no conſolation but deſpair: for not having timely foreſeen and prevented them.

And now, you Princes, know, that Uſurpers never willingly let goe what they poſſeſs; that your greateſt crime, is the right you have to the Government of *France*, and that nothing but the fear of you can reſtore you to what their contempt hath deprived you of: And you, who profeſs the Reformed Religion, recall to your remembrance, by what means your Fore-Fathers planted the Goſpel of Chriſt in this Kingdome, and the proviſions they made both for your ſecurity and diſcipline: Shall we be guilty of ſo much baſeneſs, as to preſer the empty promiſes of ſome penſion, which ſhall no longer

be continued, then while you betray your own Countrey, or of ſome ſmall Eſtates, which after the ruine of your friends, you ſhall not enjoy, but by the ſacrifices of your own conſciences and Religion, before our own and our Childrens liberty, and the proſperity of the Church of God? If then the Princes be deſirous to maintain the Crown in their own Family, and the Proteſtants in the State, they muſt enter into a firm Union to maintain and ſupport the one the other. Let us imploy all our powers to reſtore them to their loſt Authority; let them make uſe of theirs, to confirm our Rights, Diſciplines and Correſpondencies: and let us all joyn, to re-eſtabliſh the ancient Allyancy of the Crown. I ſee how they calumniate thoſe of the Religion, pretending that their aim is in imitation of the *Switzers*, and thoſe of the *Low-Countries*, by a particular Diſcipline to diſunite themſelves from the State. But neither their diſperſed, and remote habitations in this Realm, nor the great number of Nobility amongſt them, nor the ſence of the honour of their Nation, nor yet their own profit, will ſuffer any of them to admit of ſuch a thought.

God in his Mercy look in pity upon this declining State; and I heartily beſeech him, that if his pleaſure be to reſtore, and preſerve it, that the body of the Reformed Religion may be its chief Support; but if in Judgement, he reſolve upon the ruine of it, that he would yet vouchſafe to replant his Churches, by the ſame means he firſt planted them here. *Amen.*

DISCOURSE

DISCOURSE IV.

Upon the Voyage of the King, in July 1615.

I Conceive my ſelf obliged, both by my Allegiance, and the ſervices I have vowed to the Queen, freely to offer my advice concerning the preſent, many, and important Affairs of the State; which ought to be the more conſidered, for that it proceedes neither from hatred, nor deſire of revenge againſt any; nor fear of being rejected, nor hope of being advanced to a ſhare in the adminiſtration of them: Paſſions which many times blind the greateſt perſons: The freeneſs of my humour, and the Integrity of my affection drew me to this Diſcourſe; which will clearly diſcover both my Opinion and Reſolution. I confeſs, that as to the Affairs now in Agitation, I cannot clearly ſee, that the former actions of the Prince of *Conde* can bring his Fidelity or good Conduct into queſtion. Nevertheleſs I will take all things at the worſt, as if all the expedients heretofore made uſe of were defective, it being a known Truth, *That the miſcarriages we ſmart for, ſerve to correct and quicken us*, whereas *Proſperity lulls us into a careleſs Security.*

Untill the Aſſembling of the States General, all the Subjects and Officers of the Kingdome kept themſelves within the limits of their Duty, reflecting at the ſame time, both on the favours and damages they might receive; and chooſing rather to content themſelves with their preſent condition, than out of hopes of a reformation to expoſe all to a hazard. But at the Aſſembly of the ſaid States, the diſagreement of the orders upon the propoſition of the third Eſtate, made by the Parliament of *Paris*; the inſtant urging of the Council of *Trent* by the two firſt Orders, and the malice the Clergy have diſcovered againſt thoſe of our Religion, refuſing to approve of our Edicts of Pacification, endeavouring to oblige the King by Oath to ruine us, have opened a large gap for thoſe who attempt to diminiſh the Queens to inlarge their own Authority.

Next came the Revocation of the *Polette*, which made the Officers, when it was not ſeaſonable, be changed; whoſe re-eſtabliſhment will not reconcile them: for though it be that which troubles them, yet will they conceal the ground of their diſcontents, cloaking their particular intereſts with the pretext of the publique good. But there is yet more, the Deputies of the ſaid Eſtates, going thither for the moſt part, not to purſue the general Welfare of the Kingdome, but to do their own private Affairs, having wholly complyed with the pleaſure of the Queen, conceive her obliged to return them large Rewards: ſo that thoſe which received not that Recompence, they ſuppoſed they had ſo well deſerved, return to their reſpective Provinces, exclaiming againſt the Government of the State: ſo that this, being added to the number already ingaged againſt her, will be far the ſtrongeſt. All theſe things having been with great care and ſubtilty aggravated by the Prince and his *Partiſans*, have gained a great reputation to their deſign, even among forraign Princes, and the beſt Allyes of the Crown of *France*, whom they perſwade, that there is a Confederacy between the Queen the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, to extirpate all of our Religion out of all Chriſtendome; which all good Frenchmen are obliged to oppoſe: for that it would prove a great weakneſs to *France*, and all leagued with it againſt the greatneſs of *Spain*.

This is the true ſtate of our Affairs, in which, either the Prince muſt give back, or the Queen yield a little, or elſe all muſt break out into an open diviſion.

If the conſideration of his private intereſts inclines the Prince to a complyance, it will be the abſolute eſtabliſhment of the Authority of the Queen, wherefore I cannot conceive he will yet liſten to any ſuch motion.

But let us now ſee, whether will be of greateſt advantage to the Queen, that ſhe periſh in her Reſolutions, though all fall into a confuſion, or that ſhe yield a little to the neceſſities of the times, and afterwards reſume her former power againe, and what inconveniences will attend both the one and the other reſolution. If ſhe ſubmit and regard the marriage, or change any Officers of the State, or the Exchequer, it is probable that the Prince will reap all the thanks and profit of it, that it will be the enlargement of his, and the deſtruction of the Queens power, and by conſequence the contempt of the one, will be the only effect of the glory of the other. If they proceed in the marriage, and continue things in their preſent

present condition, then may they fear the troubles which the Prince, the Parliament, and people of *Paris* may raise in their absence, not only in that Town, but all over *France*; The distrusts and jealousies of the forraign Princes, allyed with this Crown; whose own Interests render them very suspitious of this league between *France* and *Spain*. The War with *Savoy*, and our dereliction of that Prince would be looked on, as an argument, that the end of our amity with *Spain*, was their prejudice and dammage; and the apprehensions of those of our Religion, that the whole storm will fall on us: Wherefore I conceive they cannot without the extream hazard of the Queen's authority, begin the voyage before they have provided Remedies for all these inconveniencies.

If they conclude upon the voyage, then my advice is, that in any case they resolve upon four things. The first is, that they have a power in *Paris*, either in the hands of one person qualified for that charge, and to be assisted with a Council, or else in the hands of the Parliament, to maintain a constant correspondence with the Queen; and to prevent all insurrections of the people. The second is, to make a peace with *Savoy*, or at least not to discover our weakness and disaffection, in expresly forbidding the sending any Relief to that Duke; it being not in our power to prevent it. The third is, by entring into an Allyance with *England*, to satisfie all other our Confederates, who are so jealous of this League with *Spain*. The fourth is, by a good and favourable usage of our Assembly, publickly to testifie to the Protestants, that they are also studious of their preservation.

This is my first advice; but I conceive there is another more profitable, and more secure, if well examined, and free from all fear of creating new divisions: which is this, That the Queen let the Prince know, that having considered the Remonstances of the Parliament, she will make all possible provisions for their satisfaction: before she begin her progress into *Guienne*, and that to the end, she desires his Assistance, in reforming and redressing the grievances of the State: If he come not, it will be the Queen's Advantage; who must not fail also to treat with the Parliament about the same thing; For what good soever shall accrue thence, will no more be attributed to the Prince, since he contributed nothing to it. But in this Unity, the Parliament must upon any terms be satisfied, especially concerning the administration of the *Finances*, and this must also be readily, and without any reluctancy granted: For when a man condescends to things

againſt his Will he muſt not diſcover his averſion, but rather pretend a ready inclination to it. If this be managed as it ought, and by perſons that only reſpect the Queen's authority, within ſix moneths it will be more abſolute than ever, and the Prince his conſpiracy utterly broken; Believe it, there is ſtrength enough in *France* to ſupport the Queen, without borrowing aid from any place: I will uſe but one example to confirm it, which is, the War of the Commonweal againſt King *Lewis* the eleventh, who deſtroyed that great League by no other means, but dividing it; though at firſt it ſeemed to threaten the deſtruction of his Authority. If you cannot find means out of their particular Intereſts to diſunite the Princes, you muſt try another way: If the Parliament be cloſe fiſted, as they now ſeem to guard their purſe, they muſt be attempted in their weaker quarters, which they do not at all ſuſpect: you muſt blow them up with the vanity of aſſiſting the Queen, and re-uniting the divided State. In the mean time the King growes on, and his authority increaſes with his age, which will augment the power of the Queen, and diminiſh that of the Princes of the blood. But ſhe muſt be very cautious, that the apparent diminution of ſome particulars bring not a hazard on that Authority which maintains them, which once imputed, would be the ruine of them all.

As for my part, I am reſolved faithfully to ſerve the Queen againſt *Monſieur* the Prince, to imploy all my power to advance the Grandeur of this Kingdome; and in as much as lies in me, to incline all thoſe of the Reformed Religion to the ſame reſolutions: But if out of any animoſitie they have againſt the Proteſtants, or by the procurement of evill Counſel, they uſe them as at *Saumure*: I will then declare, that I will never diſſent nor diſunite from the publique reſolutions of our Aſſembly.

DISCOURSE

DISCOURSE V.

Upon the Government of the Queen-Mother.

Made in the year 1617.

THat Rhetorick which touches not the Intereſts of thoſe we would perſwade, hath ſeldome any operation upon them: Nor had the letter which *Monſieur de Vendoſm, de Mayenne* and *de Bouillon* writ unto the King againſt the Marſhall *d' Ancre*, nor the Declaration publiſhed in his Majeſties Name in anſwer to it, a neat and well compoſed piece, hitherto any effectual influence upon any, either to incline them to embrace the diſcontented Princes Party, or to gain their intire approbation of the preſent Government: For the prodigious favour of the Marſhall *d' Ancre*, was both ſuſpected and abhorred: and they who were ſilent at it, were either in effect, or by ſome hopes linked to his fortune: And truly, there was never yet any Precedent of a man honoured with the Dignity of Marſhall of *France*, that ever ſerved in an Army; nor of a man, that all at once was intruſted with the tuition of Seals and Purſe of the King; that is to ſay, that graſped his whole Authority: Nor is it leſs ſtrange, that thoſe whom the late King imployed to diſcharge thoſe offices, ſhould be now diſcarded. Though the Chancellour hath been faulty ſince, yet the Integrity of *Monſieur* the Preſident *Du Vair*, and his abilities are unblemiſhable, and yet could not thoſe parts which advanced him, ſecure him from diſgrace. To maintain alſo that the Edicts of Pacification, and all Promiſes made to particular Communalties have been hitherto inviolably obſerved, would be but a vain Diſcourſe to thoſe that know the contrary: that is, almoſt to all. This little draught of a complaint, contains in it the ſumme of the moſt importance charges againſt the Marſhall *d' Ancre*, and the preſent Government.

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Whereupon ſome ſay, it were to be deſired, not that the Marſhall *d' Ancre* ſhould be ruined; for his birth is equal to any that in our memory hath been created, not only Marſhall, but Duke and Peer of *France*; and hath raiſed a Family in this Kingdome; and his Wit and Education, and many other qualities, make him thought worthy of this favour, and to be naturalized to perpetuate his Family amongſt us; which would be a great honour to our Nation: But it is to be deſired, ſay they, that this greatneſs give no juſt cauſe of ſuſpition to thoſe who are jealous of the Royal Authority, and the French Monarchy; and that untill the perfect Majority of our King, the power ſhould not be ingroſſed by a Single Perſon, who may more eaſily abuſe it than many, who preſerving the State from the unjuſt uſurpation of either, will aſſiſt one the other in managing and reſerving it for him alone, to whom the Rule of it rightly belongs, untill he himſelf be able to undertake the adminiſtration of it. For no man can tell, untill he hath proved it, how far the Itch of Soveraignty may carry, nor can this Tryal be made by any perſon whatſoever, without manifeſt danger both to the King and Kingdome. It is alſo to be deſired, that the ancient Pilots of the State, reſume the helm again; that the Edicts of pacification be faithfully obſerved; and that thoſe abuſes, which have a long time raigned amongſt us, be reformed; whoſe viſible increaſe threatens much miſchief to this Monarchy. But whether we look upon their Intentions or manner of their procedures, we ſhall deceive our ſelves, if we think thoſe expedients, which the diſcontented Princes have formerly, and now ſtill do uſe, are capable to effect this Reformation: Their two Treaties of St. *Menehould* and *Loudun* will clearly convince all thoſe who ſhall examine the particular paſſages of them, that their greateſt aim hath been their own private Intereſts, and that they had a greater deſire to ingage many perſons to promote their own advancement, and favour their own particular deſignes, than to reform the State, as they pretended, or better the condition of thoſe, whom their ſolicitations had drawn to a conjunction with them: For though they promiſed us a general reſtauration of all things by the convention of the States General, they cannot deny, but that they openly made their Parties in the Provinces, to procure the Election of ſuch as they ſuppoſed to be of their own faction: Thus did they violate the liberty they promiſed to reſtore, and give a Precedent to the Queen-Mothers Diſciples to do the like. And

though

though since that, to make their own cause appear more plausible to the people, they have publickly accused many, and principally the Marshall *d' Ancre*; yet did some of them, and especially of the Reformed Religion, maintain a strict intelligence with the said Marshall *d' Ancre* in the hottest of the War. Thus at St. *Menehould* and *Loudun* did they conclude upon conditions, regarding only their own concernments; never moving any thing that really conduced to the advancement of the publique good. Nor hath the defects of their duty to the State been greater, than their Injuries to those of the Religion; whom yet *Monsieur* the Prince was pleased in his Letter to the Queen to mention as persons concerned. And though that at the Treaty of St. *Menehould* the Dukes of *Mayne* and *Bouillon*, nominated by the Prince, to treat with her Majesties Commissioners were earnestly sollicited by *Monsieur de Rohan*, who sent a Secretary of his own in post to them, to desire them to make it appear, that they had summoned them in good earnest, and with intention to procure their Welfare; yet was the Treaty concluded without any benefit to them, or indeed without any mention made of them. They signed also that at *Loudun*, refusing to expect the resolution of the general Assembly then held at *Rochel*; though they had entred into a solemn engagement, not to do it without the mutual consent and Approbation of all parties. But this was not all: for they obliged themselves by a formal promise under their hands, by violence to force the Deputies of that Assembly, if they did not dissolve themselves within a very short time which they prescribed them; which Promise *Monsieur de Trimouille* and *de Bouillon* signed as well as the rest; which *Monsieur de Plessis-Bellay*, *Monsieur de Trimouill*'s Deputy, confessed to the Duke of *Rohan* in the said Assembly at *Rochell*; to whom also, together with *Monsieur de Sully*, he presented it to be signed by them, which they both absolutely refused to do. And when at several times many *Romanists* have reproached the Prince for coming so easily to an accord; his answer still was, that the fear of advancing the Reformed Party forced him to it. Nor did *Monsieur de Nevers* excuse his refusal to joyne with him in the late commotions, but by this, that those of the Religion were of the Party: And *Monsieur de Mayne* hath always protested, nay at the time of their association, that he would never procure any good to them; and yet when they come, he they may be useful to them, as at present, they want neither promises, vowes, nor protestations to engage.

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Theſe are ſome Arguments that the principal end of theſe Princes is not the general good of *France*, much leſs of the Reformed Party, and God grant that we have not now a juſt cauſe to fear, as hitherto (if they arrive at their purpoſe) an abſolute tranſlation of the *French* Diadem: The mildeſt cenſures that ſhall view their actions, cannot but ſay, that the remedies they prepare, are worſer than the diſeaſe, I will not ſay the Plague and poiſon of the State. For ſince they pretend nothing but the reſtoring of the King's Authority, and the Welfare of the people; is there any thing that ſo much prejudice either the one or the other, as the Armies which have alwayes appeared as ſoon as their letters and declarations? Can any thing ſo eaſily raze out of Subjects hearts, the Reverence due to their Princes, as the accuſtoming them to bear Arms againſt them? For although theſe Gentlemen will not confeſs that they raiſe Armes againſt the King; yet when mention is made of the King's Party, they underſtand it of the adverſe party to them, for ſo is the Kings Army called; which I do not alledge as the formal reaſon of the Juſtice or Injuſtice of either cauſe; but only to ſhew, that unleſs a great extremity exact it, ſuch things ought not to be permitted to the people, which may many waies impair their reverence of the Royal Majeſty, that Reverence, I ſay, which is the only Baſis, and moſt firm foundation of it. And as for the people which condemn the preſent Government, whoſe errors cannot bring on them in twenty years, ſo many and heavy inconveniencies, as a Civil War will in ten dayes, ſince it is yet diſputable in whoſe hands the State is leſt liable to danger, either in the Queen-Mothers, or the Princes; what reaſon is there to expoſe it to an apparent ruine for a thing, which may be probably argued, both by the one ſide and the other.

Certainly, if their power were ſo great, and the conſent of the people in favour of them ſo unanimous, that the execution would preſently follow the pretention of their deſignes, we ſhould be conſtrained to endure it: But they are only capable to provoke and ſtir the humours, not to expell them; to make a wound, and not to heal it; to open a way for a forraign Invaſion, never caring how to redeem the Nation again; thus do they draw upon themſelves the maledictions and curſes of the people, for the evils they have cauſed them, and have not the leaſt power to do them any good. To this purpoſe remarkable [illegible] decree of the Council extorted from them, the laſt year by *Monſieur* the Prince, who was then Preſident

of it, which by all thoſe that paid Contribution in the time of the late troubles, were injoyned to pay it over once more; not without the great amazement of thoſe that aſſiſted at the ſame Council, though they had no other Intereſt in the buſineſs than what Equity, and a natural Commiſeration of their Fellow Subjects gave them: But if theſe Princes were in poſſeſſion of the Government, the ſame complaints might be exhibited againſt thoſe, that would diſpoſſeſs them of it, and perſwade them to patience, until the King ſhould have a perfect knowledge of his own affairs, whoſe management he would be obliged to look after, as his chiefeſt Exerciſe. And good reaſon alſo ſhould we have to complain, if we were compelled to bear Arms: but the choice is now left us, either to do it, or to ſtay at home; though Commiſſions are daily refuſed, and that theſe Lords proclaim all enemies that come not in to them.

That which is before ſaid may give the *French* cauſe to fear the Contagion of ſuch Reformers, and to remember, that there was never yet any War raiſed in *France*, under pretence of the publick good, whoſe principal aim was not the particular Intereſt of thoſe that begun it. But eſpecially ought the Proteſtants to be carefull to ſtick to their priviledges given them by the Edicts made in favour of them; to have a watchfull eye upon their cautionary places, and to unite themſelves more ſtrictly than ever under the name and authority of the King; to whom in this poſture, they may be one day capable to render very conſiderable ſervices, and poſſibly to preſerve his Crown: But if they adhere again to thoſe, who have formerly deceived them, and who deſire their Aſſiſtance for no other end, than to promote their own affairs, they will abſolutely loſe and ruine themſelves: In the mean time, let us leave the event to God, and inceſſantly implore him for the preſervation, proſperity and long life of the King, the good of the State, and the firm eſtabliſhment of the Crown. *Amen.*

DISCOURSE

DISCOURSE VI.

Made in the year 1617.

A free Diſcourſe upon the preſent Times.

I very well know, that the general humour of Mankind inclines them to deſire what they have not, and to diſeſteem and ſlight what they poſſeſs. In the time of *Henry* the Great, every one complained of an avaritious and oppreſſive Government; but none doth ſtir againſt it: ſince his death we have ſeen thoſe grievances redreſſed by liberality: But forasmuch as the number of thoſe who receive no profit by it, far exceeds the other, and that Envy is a vice very common and predominant: The former Reign hath been again wiſhed for? The large gifts and penſions conferred on the great Ones, encouraging them rather to tranſgreſs, than contain themſelves within the limits of their Duty. And now we murmure, that the only means left to reſtrain every one, are imployed to that end.

Revolving theſe ſo different things in my mind, I have reflected on the changes which have happened, and conſidered the former miſcarriages, their cauſes, and the wayes to redreſs, and prevent them for the future. The courage of *Henry* the Great, his Authority, his ſuppreſſing the Grandees of the Kingdome, his abounding Treaſures, and well ſtored Arſenals, rendred him ſo redoubtable, that none durſt think of diſturbing his Repoſe. His ſuddain death ſubjected us to a King of nine years old; and although the Regency without any oppoſition fell into the hands of the Queen-Mother, yet was it not without a great diſguſt to the Princes of the blood who pretended to it. The Councils then moſt prevalent, were by the power of others of the Nobility, to withſtand

ſtand that Authority, which themſelves ambitioned in the Court; and to maintain theſe two powers in ſo equal a ballance, that in the mid'ſt of both, the royal Authority (poſſeſſed by the Queen) might freely exerciſe its functions, to abaſe the diſcontents of either, by a profuſion of the Treaſures, Arſenals, Offices and Governments. As for the firſt, I muſt needs approve it to be as good, as I muſt confeſs the latter to be bad: For though our Malady by thoſe means be ſuppreſſed for ten years; yet will it prove in the end almoſt incurable. It is a moſt certain truth, that in all Kingdomes the Power of the King eclipſes that of the Nobility, and that the increaſe of theirs, doth diminiſh the ſplendor of his. It is a ballance that can never continue in ſo equal a poiſe, but that one ſide muſt ſway the other. It is therefore but an ill way to preſerve the Royal Authority, to put into the hands of thoſe that endeavour to deſtroy it, the only means to reſtrain their ambition. How much more eaſie was it to have kept the Princes in ſubjection in that weak and neceſſitous way, I dare ſay, beggerly condition in which the late King left them, than now, when we have poſted with all our forces to ſtrengthen them with them? It may be well ſaid, that a Kingdome is better ſecured by Love than Tyranny; but then this love muſt not proceed from imbecility and want of Power, which only breeds contempt; but muſt be teſtified by a conſtant purſuite of Juſtice, and earneſt endeavours to preſerve the people from oppreſſion: It is a dictate of nature, that we avoid all inconveniences, and apply our ſelves to thoſe that are ſollicitous for our good. I muſt include my ſelf in the ſame accuſations, if I ſhould extend this charge againſt all the Nobility, who are ſo much more the fitteſt Inſtruments to be imployed by the King, as they have the greateſt means to do him ſervice. I know that thoſe, who are of a well tempered ſpirit, look upon their own as the greatneſs of their King. And more happy, and ſecure are the Nobility, under a great and potent Prince, than under thoſe petty Soveraigns, who dare not ſtir for fear of offending either *France* or *Spain*. But I ſpeak of ſuch as would inforce their Majeſties to gratifie them, though they have no merit to juſtifie their pretences; and who always imploy their goods, gotten by unjuſt wayes, only to augment their own greatneſs. Certainly the more you give to ſuch perſons, the more do you arm them againſt your ſelf. It were much better to reſolve to diſtinguiſh between Reward and Puniſhment; the good and the bad; to the end,

that

that the one may be encouraged, the other terrified, than ſtill to perſiſt in the practice of the Contrary, rewarding the bad, and diſcountenancing the good: For Impunity opens a door to all licentiouſnes and ingratitude, and neglect of good ſervices, to deſpair and rage.

The opinion I have of this Counſel, makes me ſuſpect that the Authors of it, gave it only to make themſelves the longer looked on, as neceſſary to the ſervice of the Kingdome; and that their own private Intereſt, a powerfull Orator, diſſwaded them from giving ſuch Counſels as really conduced to the preſervation of the Royal Authority, in that ſplendor they found it in.

And now I am entring on a way which gives me fair hopes of an happy accommodation of the Affairs of this State; which muſt be purſued with as much vigour and courage, as the difficulty, and conſequently the honour of the Enterprize require. So firm a reſolution muſt we take; as neither their exclamations, nor any other Artifice they ſhall uſe to daunt us, may not divert us from our purpoſes, what ever accidents happen; which poſſibly may be ſuch, as that to remedy them, we may be forced ſometimes to defer, but muſt never give off our deſign. For perſeverance joyned with the royal Authority, will eaſily ſubvert all their policyes, eſpecially at ſuch a time, wherein that vertue is not to be found in many. I confeſs, that ſuch a Reſolution is not to be undertaken, but upon good grounds; wherefore we will particolarly examine the State of our *France*, and diligently conſider all things in it:

And firſt, I obſerve, that there are two Religions profeſſed in this Kingdome; the one much ſuperiour in ſtrength, and which gives the Law to the other, and would gladly be alone: The other alwayes jealous of an Aſſault, whoſe ruine will nevertheleſs draw after it that of the State alſo: *Henry* the Great, who was of that opinion, gave an equal influence of his favour to them both, and would not prejudice his own greatneſs to gratifie the humour of either.

The ſtrength of a Kingdome depends upon the King, and his Allyes, not of blood, but Intereſt. *France* and *Spain* are the two great Powers of *Europe*, and the hinges on which all the other move, who ſtill oppoſe one another, leſt either ſhould gain the abſolute Superiority. The Intereſt of the Proteſtants, is to uphold the greatneſs of *France*, and ſo is it alſo of many other States which profeſs the *Romiſh* Faith: it is a Maxime of State, which the King of *France* ought to obſerve;

observe; not to persecute his Subjects of the Religion, that all Protestants may not throw themselves upon the Protection of *England*: yet must not the favour he shews them be such, as may raise a jealousie in his other Subjects the Catholiques, which are the main body of his State; but he must oblige them by his Justice, preserving inviolate their Edicts, and by his confidence in imploying them in his service. None but the Enemies of his Crown can disallow of such a Procedure.

From the Religions, I pass to the discontents, who are still very numerous, for that the mind of man is unstable, presumptuous and envious, and is many times more troubled at the wealth and honour which another possesses, than that he enjoyes it not himself. But it is according to the strength or weakness of the State, that they discover themselves more or less. Those who now declare against the Royal Authority, whether of the one, or the other Religion, exclaime against the Government, because it is not in their own hands; accusing their Majesties, if not of Treachery, yet of Folly; and suffering themselves to be led by the fancies of other men, they fall upon the stone, not daring to touch the arm that threw it, and cover as much as they can the pernicious design they have, to usurp the Royal Authority, and make themselves Masters even of their Majesties themselves. Those also that serve the King, for the most part, follow their own, not his pleasure. Every one will command an Army and a Province: and if his Neighbour, or one of the same rank with himself have any Command given him, and he not; he presently is discontented, and dares think even of trampling upon the throat of his Master: Certainly if they had all their desires, we should see Monsters instead of Armies, more Commanders than Souldiers. I confess such disorders are not tolerable, and that such persons are almost as much enemies of the King, as those that are convicted of Treason. Others make their consciences plead for them, and remonstrate, that it were better for the good of all Christendome to satisfie the Catholiques, by making War upon the Reformed Party: Counsel tending to the Eternizing of a Civil War in *France*, and the loss of its most faithfull and powerfull Allyes.

Those of the Religion, that engage in these broils, alledge, that they will not stop at the ruine of the Princes they now decry; but that if we stop not their progress, we shall have our share of the persecution: The King's Council proceeds from *Rome* and *Spain*, one of which incessantly seeks our par-

ticular deſtruction; the other, that of *France* in general; which is clearly diſcernable by the inobſervances of our Edicts: and though they move different wayes, and for different Intereſts, yet all the diſcontents of either Religion, unanimouſly accord in their deſires of a change of the preſent Government.

And now to come to the Remedies, which by reaſon of the diverſity of humours, cannot eaſily be particularized; we muſt know that there are two ſorts of Diſcontents; the open, and the concealed; the former cannot be reduced to their obedience by any other means then force: The other are a ſort of people that declare for no Party, but would render themſelves conſiderable by a third: Theſe may much incommode the Kings Affaires, by ſuch Diverſions as they can make both with the men, and money they can raiſe; to theſe nevertheleſs muſt be applyed gentle Lenitives, and not thoſe harſher Corroſives of force.

All expedients neceſſary for the good of this State, may be reduced to four heads. The firſt, and main particular is, to force the Princes, now in Armes againſt him, to an obedience to the King: to this the way is open; and the beſt policy is, to uſe no other, but only to be very carefull to keep good Armies on foot, to make a good choice of thoſe that are imployed in them, and to make good proviſions for the Payment and Suſtenance of the Souldiers. The ſecond conſiſts in general, in the Execution of our Edicts, and in particular, in being carefull to free us from thoſe inconveniencies and jealouſies that have been, and ſtill are given us. Which may be done by a juſt payment of our Garriſons and Miniſters, and by a ſincere effecting of that, which in words they confeſs, is neceſſary for us: and by ſending Commiſſioners into the Provinces, and keeping a conſtant Correſpondence with the Principal of them, which may produce more good than is imagined. The third is, a wary and politique comportment towards all thoſe, that declaring for no party, can yet raiſe great commotions in the Provinces, as the Dukes *d' Eſpernon*, *de Sully*, *d' Leſdiguieres*, can by means as different, as their ends. A ſeveral Remedy muſt be prepared for each of theſe, who muſt be alſo made ſenſible of their diſ-union, every one labouring to make conditions with the Court apart. *Monſieur d' Eſpernon* cannot away with the preſent Government, becauſe he is excluded from the helm: He aimes at the Government of *Guyenne*, and to be made *Conneſtable* of *France*;

France; which ſince he cannot obtaine by fair, he would by foul means. He profeſſes much zeal to the King's ſervice, controulles the Catholiques, pretends to be an enemy to the *Prince*, the Duke of *Boüillon*, and all other the diſcontents: and yet doth he deſire the Government of the the King; will live amongſt the Proteſtants, and will deliver the Prince, and the reſt. I leave it to all to judge, whether either the one, or the other, can fix any confidence on a man ſo mutable. If *Guyenne* be given him, it is the way for him to make himſelf *Conneſtable*: after which he will become a Tyrant over the King and Kingdome; as he is already over thoſe that live under his Government. See what his dealings are: at the ſame time, that he vowes all Loyalty to the *King*, he promiſes his uttermoſt ſervice to *Madame* the Princeſs, for the delivereance of *Monſieur* the Prince, and maintains a correſpondence with all the other Princes in Armes: As for *Monſieur de Sully*, he is wholly inclined to the good of the State: He is weary of the hard meaſure he receives, deſirous to have his ſervices better regarded, and vexed at the neglect of them: but will never be drawn to oppoſe the Authority of the King, untill he be forced by the greateſt extremities. As for *Monſieur* the Marſhal *Leſdiguieres*, he hath great commands in his Government, is wiſe, and one that would be conſidered as a perſon of Power and Authority: but is not at all unreaſonable in any thing. The firſt of theſe is the hardeſt to be contented; for that, Humility ſwels his Pride; Gentleneſs makes him more Violent, and Toleration emboldens him: yet muſt be amuſed with fair words, untill the taking of *Soiſſons*; for the iſſue of that ſiege, will make all the pretended third Party change their note. The ſecond, by an indifferent and moderate uſage, may not be only reſtrained, but employed where he is, to retain by his power the Proteſtants within their due limits: And the laſt may alſo by the ſame means be infallibly kept within his: His age, his Antipathy againſt the Dukes of *Boüillon*, and *d' Eſpernon*, and the ill uſage he hath had from the Prince his party, are prevalent motives to keep him to his Devoir. If theſe wayes ſhould fail, the King hath yet Peace, and War in his own hand, which he may make with either of them, when he pleaſes, and ſeverally too. For all the Princes now in Arms againſt him, would joyne with him to ſuppreſs *Monſieur d' Eſpernon*, or any other, that ſhould be ſo Fool-hardy as to oppoſe him. All of them, as many as they are, muſt needs fight with great

diſadvantage, having no Chief that they will own; being in a continual diffidence one of another, purſuing the advancement of their ſeveral particular Intereſts, and the deſtruction of the Kings, who can at pleaſure diſunite them, by tendring conditions to either of them, when he ſhall ſee his time. There remains now the laſt expedient, and that is, to foment their mutual Jealouſies, and render them odious both to their own and forraign Nations; which muſt be done by a particular Demonſtration of their deſign, ever ſince the death of the late King, to embroil the whole Nation for their own private profit; by diſcovering alſo their Confederacyes, Treaſons, and their fallacious Pretenſions, how they have cheated thoſe of the Religion; how one Party complyed, to make its Peace at the others coſt; how that in all their Treaties they have not diſcovered the leaſt thought of the publick Welfare; What ſubmiſſions they have all made to him againſt whom they juſt before ſo loudly exclaimed; What fidelity they have ſworn him; how faithfull they have been to him, that the world may know what ſpirit leads them; and that Hatred and Ambition, and not the Love of their Countrey, or the King's ſervice hath alwayes abſolutely governed them: If the firſt expedient be well followed, and the other three not neglected, I ſhall ſee the King moſt abſolute, the Civil Wars all ended, and a fair way opened to the Glory, and *Grandeur* of the King and Kingdome.

DISCOURSE

DISCOURSE VII.

Upon the Occaſion of the Diviſions of Holland. 1618.

STates and Common-wealths are not formed in an Inſtant, and the Lawes which they make to redreſs their preſent inconveniences, are ordinarily better than thoſe which regard the future: which is a great cauſe of their multiplicity and change of Lawes from time to time, for that they are obliged to apply convenient Remedies to ſurvening evils, before they grow incurable: I ſpeake this principally in relation to the State of the *Low-Countries*, who in a fourty years War, which they ſuſtained againſt the power of *Spain*, are ſo augmented, ſtrengthned and eſtabliſhed by that glorious toil, and become ſo abſolute Maſters of all Military Arts, that they inforced the King to a Peace. But though during the War, they knew how to eſtabliſh all neceſſary Lawes in order to the proſecution of it; yet have they ſhewed themſelves but Novices in their Conduct ſince the Peace, or to ſpeake more properly, they muſt confeſs that the Government of their State hath need of ſome new Expedients to prevent thoſe miſchiefs which threaten it now.

The King of *Spain* finding by the experience of that long tract of years, that he could not ruine them by open force, reſolved to work their deſtruction by inteſtine Diviſions. To which end the calm of Peace and Idleneſs, which many times lulls ſuch perſons, as think no harm themſelves, into a ſecurity, have given him occaſion to rowſe thoſe unquiet ſpirits, whom either Diſcontent, Envy or Ambition, will not ſuffer to reſt ſatisfied with their condition. Other Diviſions than thoſe of Religion, would have been ſuſpected; and for as much as that is the moſt advantageous proceeding from a Subject which hath the abſolute Dominion over others, he deſigned to undermine them that way: which may be juſtified by the Writings and Counſels given theſe ten years paſt, and upon the ſame point, which are ſtill controverted:

In which he hath ſo ſucceſfully laboured, that we ſee that fair State, which the force of Arms could not move, is now ſinking to ruine, unleſs ſome ſpeedy ſupport prevent it: which I conceive yet feiſeable, if they firmly adhere to, and purſue their reſolutions. All the Aſſemblies which they have had till now, whether particular or general, have been to little purpoſe; for as much as the conſtitution of the Government of that State is ſuch, that the particular Provinces will not ſubmit to the determinations of the *States General*; nor yet the particular Townes to thoſe of their own Province; for that they pretend, that their *Republick* is compoſed of as many Soveraignties, as Townes; and that they have till this preſent time ſubſiſted ſo; for that till this preſent they never met with any conſiderable accident to diſturb that order; but were ſtill kept united by the neceſſity of their own preſervation. But now the malady is ſuch, that they will never find any remedy for it in this order, which really was utterly unknown to former ages. Is it poſſible that the obſtinacy of ſome members, ſhould deſtroy the whole body, or that the body ſhould be ſo weak, as to be unable to govern them? To ſpeak freely, it ſeems to me a great Argument of Self-Love and Preſumption, to put ſo high a value on our opinions, as to ſacrifice the publick Peace, and hazard the ruine of the State we live in, to purchaſe them a reputation.

To redreſs this, I conceive they muſt take this courſe, to wit, to endeavour to compoſe the diviſions in *Holland* concerning Religion, by an Aſſembly of *Holland* only, if it may be done; that ſo as near as poſſible they may obſerve their ancient Order; and alſo to uſe the ſame procedure in the other Provinces, and to pacifie them by the ſame Expedient.

But if this fail, they muſt of neceſſity have recourſe to a National *Synod*, which though ſome particular Townes refuſe to ſend in their Deputies, they muſt proceed in, and ſubmit the Reſolutions of it to the Council of the *States General*; which in ſo important an Affair, muſt deſire their Neighbours, and good Allyes to aſſiſt them, by their Embaſſadours, with their good advice; by this means will they be engaged alſo to confirm and maintain their decrees, which they muſt communicate to them, as alſo to all their Townes and Souldiers; and I am confident, this courſe will reclaim moſt of thoſe that have hitherto diſſented, eſpecially if they obſerve moderation in the decrees they make.

Next

Next I conceive that the States ought to endeavour to reduce to their obedience, thoſe that perſiſt in their obſtinacy; and, if God give them grace to compaſs that deſign, they will extract much good out of theſe evils.

As for the *Synod*, it will be neceſſary, that they eſtabliſh a Diſcipline for the Church, that for the future every particular perſon, may not at pleaſure fly from it; which muſt be alſo ſo limited and reſtrained, that it may not in any wiſe incroach upon the authority of the States; which may be eaſily effected, by forbidding all *Synods* and Eccleſiaſtique *Aſſemblies*, not to intermeddle with any thing, but what concerns Religion only; and that no ſuch *Aſſemblies* be held, unleſs ſome ſecular Magiſtrates be alſo aſſiſtant there, and privy to their conſultations.

They would do well alſo to ordain, that for the future no Miniſter ſhould be admitted to any cure, that maintained any Doctrines condemned by the *Synod*: and that for the preſent, thoſe that preach, ſhould be enjoyned, not to touch in their Sermons, upon any points in Controverſie. But above all, muſt they endeavour to bring them all to the ſame Communion: for as concerning that particular, which is the foundation of our Salvation, and of infinite Efficacy to unite us; there is not any diverſity of opinions, as I can learn.

DISCOURSE VIII.

Reaſons of the Peace made before Montpellier *in the year* 1622.

THE juſt regret I have to ſee my good intentions daily aſperſed and calumniated, obliges me, both for my own honour, and to undeceive the credulous, to defend the moſt juſt of my actions, and moſt profitable to thoſe of my Religion, to wit, the procuring of the general Peace of this Kingdome: In which I hope clearly to demonſtrate the neceſſity of concluding it, and that in it I have uſed all the precautions could be deſired to obtain it from our victorious and puiſſant King. But before I enter upon this Diſcourſe, I muſt obſerve that my greateſt Cenſures were ſuch, as with folded Armes were only Spectators of the War, and who under favour of a Declaration, continued in a peaceable Enjoyment of their Eſtates, while we hazarded our lives to ſecure their repoſe: and that among thoſe, the moſt violent of my Detractors, are ſuch, as being themſelves corrupted by the Court, upon falſe hopes diverted the good affections of ſuch as were inclined to aſſiſt us, continually poſting up and down to deprive us of the Succours we expected. Envy is a vice baſe in it ſelf, and yet too well known amongſt men. But leaving the only cauſe of the War, which their unbridled ambition raiſed, and which their revolts could not appeaſe, they now caſt the blame on thoſe who admitted nothing to prevent it, whom no hopes of Profit drew in to that Engagement, ſince they loſt all they had; nor yet any thirſt of glory, ſince they caſt themſelves upon a Party that was bought and ſold; but only among other godly men, to find a happy death dying for Chriſt, or an unexpected deliverance, which they could not hope but from the hand of God alone.

It will be impertinent for me to name him that ſo unſeaſonably convened the General Aſſembly, and when convened, incou-

incouraged them to continue their Session, and then betrayed them; and who, after he had made his own peace with the Court, animated the Town of *Rochelle* against the Assembly: For it is well known who was then the Deputy General.

It is also needless to say, that the Interests of *Monsieur de la Force*, and the sollicitations of *Monsieur de Castillon*, were very prevalent to make the said Assembly renounce all thoughts of dissolving. For their Agents and *Partisans* have sufficiently discovered that they alone impeded their dissolution: And yet the former persevered not to the end; but shuffled up a Peace by himself, and the other during the War, covertly did use what mischief he could; and openly, when the other way succeeded not: and yet had we all solemnly sworn by our Deputies, not to hearken to any particular Treaty, nor to make any peace, without the consent of the general Assembly.

Though by their Conduct, both of them have arrived at the honour to be made Marshals of *France*, and that by mine: I have lost my Governments, yet shall I not envy their good Fortune; but confess they are more prudent than I am. My purpose in this is not to accuse any one; but only by the force of Truth to repell those faults they impute to me, and evidently to discover the necessity of making that peace: having not omitted any thing from the beginning to the end of the War, that might conduce to the advantage of that Party, which I desired to support. For our War being nothing but a just defence of the liberty of our consciences, and the security of our persons under the favour of our Edicts of Pacification, granted us by our Kings, we were obliged to embrace all occasions might induce the King to grant us a peace.

The first Overture was at the Siege before *Montauban*, where the English Embassadour extraordinary came thither for that purpose, sent his Secretary several times to me, to sollicit me to it, whom I presently remitted to the Assembly General; at length he pressed me so with the apprehension of the loss of *Montauban*, that I consented to an interview with the *Connestable de Luynes*; which took no effect, for that the hopes he had given him of taking *Montauban*, made him resolute, not to include in the Peace, neither *Montauban* nor *Rochelle*, unless they would submit to have a *Citadel* built in their Townes.

Having

Having thus broken with him upon the firſt point, which concerned a general Peace; and the difficulties of taking *Montauban* encreaſing by reaſon of the relief I had put into it, the *Conneſtable* invites me to a ſecond conference, which I refuſed, but he ſtill urged the renewing of the Treaty; whereupon I demanded permiſſion to ſend to the *Aſſembly General* for their conſent, to treat, and conclude a Peace; which I obtained, but the *Conneſtable* dyed preſently upon it; and thoſe that were engaged in the Affairs, joyned with *Monſieur* the Prince, who was now come to the King, and ſo changed the whole deſign of the Peace, that inſtead of approving the power, the Aſſembly had given me to treat of it, and which I had deſired of them, they impute it as a Crime to me, as if I aimed to make my ſelf chief of the Party.

This opportunity thus fruſtrated, and ſeeing I had now the power of the *General Aſſembly* in my own hands, I began another Treaty, but with greater confidence of ſucceſs then before, with *Monſieur de Leſdiguieres*, now *Conneſtable* of *France*, and commiſſionated by the King to treat with me: we met; and agreed upon moſt of the particulars in debate, but remitted the entire concluſion of it to the King, to whom I, and all the Provinces under my Command, ſent our Deputies: And at the ſame time did the *Conneſtable* and I ſend Deputies alſo to the Duke of *Boüillon*, *Sully*, and *Trimoüille*, and to the Marſhall *de la Force*, as alſo to the *General Aſſembly*, and to my Brother, that they might alſo ſend their Deputies to the King, from whom they were to expect the final concluſion of the Treaty; informing them withal, that our Deputies had no other Commiſſion, but to conſult with them about thoſe Expedients which they ſhould think neceſſary for the publick Good, and the ſatisfaction of each particular.

Monſieur the Prince, who unwillingly ſaw the progreſs of this Affair, haſtens the departure of the King, that by the abſence of the Chancellour, and the Preſident *Jannin*, who remained ſtill at *Paris*; he might the more eaſily break the Treaty; and leads him towards *Poictou*, where the Exploits of my Brother had given them a ſound Alarm: But our Deputies could not come near the King, till after the Rout at *Riez*, the Treaſon of the *Baron de St. Surin* at *Royen*, and the overture of the particular Treaty with *Monſieur de la Force*, which abſolutely defeated the General, and made the King reſolve to diſmiſs our Deputies, without ever admitting

mitting them to his preſence, and to purſue his deſignes in *Languedoc*, whither the hopes he had given him by *Monſieur de Chaſtillon* invited him.

After ſo many Diſaſters that croſſed our intentions, the King marches into *Guienne*, and there concludes the Treaty with *Monſieur de la Force*, and others of that Countrey; and having no fears in any other part of his whole Kingdome, but in *Languedoc*, he draws thither all his Forces. In the mean time I omit no Care, Diligence nor Induſtry, to raiſe the dejected hearts, and to compoſe the diſ-united Members of our party there. For the approach of ſuch a Tempeſt ſhook the conſtancy of the moſt hardy; And as the greatneſs of the danger diverſly affected the ſpirits of them all; and their zeal to the publick yielded to their own particular apprehenſions, ſo were the factions in our Communalties renewed again; and where I was abſent, there were the faireſt offers made: In the mean while I poſted from one Province to another, according as their neceſſities required: nor did I neglect the overtures made of forraign aſſiſtance: For I gave my ſervants power to engage all my Eſtate, to bear my proportion of the charges of the Levye and Conduct of ſuch ſupplies; and obliged the Provinces under my Command to do the like. I furniſhed *Montpellier* with a pretty good quantity of Wheat, notwithſtanding the ravage that *Monſieur de Montmorency* had made there: And, without vanity may I ſay it, had it not been for me, there had been neither Mills to grind it; nor Powder, nor Match, nor any other neceſſaries for a ſiege: And had they hearkened to me, *Lunel*, *Maugir*, *Marſeilliargues*, and *Hymargues* had been diſmantled ſix moneths before me; and *Montpellier*, *Niſmes*, *Uſez* and *Sommieres* for the convenience of the *Sevenes*, been well fortified. And we ſhould then have had men enough to make a brave reſiſtance: But the Imprudence of the people, and the particular Intereſts of Governours of thoſe places made them deaf to my advice, which they have ſince, but too late repented.

It cannot be imputed to me, that the eight Regiments deſigned for *Montpellier*, could not get in as well as that of St. *Coſme*, and ſome others; for all the Colonells received their Commiſſions, and Pay at the ſame time: Nor was it my fault, if, that after the failing of theſe Colonels, twelve hundred men of the *Sevenes* got not in neither, ſince their Commander in Chief had received my Orders for it, and after the Souldiers refuſed to follow him, went in with fifteen men

men only, without any hazard or difficulty.

And now was *Montpellier* beſieged, where I conceive I did as much as lay in the power of man to do, for the fortifying and ſtoring it with Souldiers, and all manner of proviſions in five weeks ſtay, that I made there; And beſides did I imploy all my endeavours and intereſts to raiſe four thouſand Men more to recruite them, before that the *Conneſtable* and the Duke of *Vendoſm* were joyned with the King's Army; but in vain, for it was impoſſible for me to draw any together, but upon conditions made by the greateſt part of them, not to ſhut them up in *Montpellier*.

I have by experience found, that there is a great difference between popular reſolutions, and the execution of them. For *Niſmes*, which had by letters aſſured *Montpellier*, that they would ſupply them with a thouſand armed men from their own Town, would allow me but fourty two; But it is not Enough to raiſe Troupes, but there muſt be care alſo taken for their ſubſiſtence. From the *Sevenes* I could not get any Corn, it being no Countrey for it, and had not then enough for themſelves. As for *Niſmes*, which was our only Granary, they grumbled at the propoſitions I made for any, and would afford me no more than for eight dayes only, within which time they injoyned me alſo to ſend in the relief to *Montpellier*; and yet had I eight Leagues to march with it, and with two hundred horſe might any Convoy, I could ſend, have been eaſily cut off. All the Commonalties were tempted to particular Treaties; that of the *Sevenes* importuned me to make a Peace, and plainly told me, that they would not ſuffer themſelves to be ruined: All our people were weary of the War, and unable to continue it: There was not Forrage enough left to keep the Cavalry for ſix dayes, which conſiſted but of two hundred Volunteers; which I muſt either diſmiſs, or ſend them into the higher *Languedoc*, and conſequently loſe them: The hopes of the arrival of *Mansfeld* were gone with him into *Holland*, which was a great prejudice to us: For the Army deſigned for his Convoy, was now upon their march towards the King, and were already come as far as *Zion*. The King of *England* inſtantly urged me by Letters (in any caſe) to make a Peace, and to ſubmit to, and wholly relye upon the promiſes of my own Soveraign; preſſing me moreover to conſider the Affairs of his Son in Law, and aſſuring me, that he could not poſſibly give us any aſſiſtance: To which I add, that without a Miracle, *Montpellier* could not have been relieved with any

Troops

Troops able to preſerve it; for that it was ſo full of Traytours within, that being obliged to draw off to a greater diſtance from them, I had two thouſand horſe in the rear of me for three leagues together.

And now let all unprejudicated perſons judge of the neceſſities that oblige me to make a general Peace, and whether it was poſſible for me to inſiſt too much upon niceties, without an abſolute ruine of it. For I muſt upon a certain day hazard the ſupplies, which was the ſame thing as to expoſe them to ſlaughter: or I muſt ſee the disbanding of my Troops, the demolition of half our Fortifications, and the King's Entry only into *Montpellier*, without which conditions I could not poſſibly obtain a general Peace: But all the precautions that a weak and vanquiſhed party could require of a ſtrong and triumphant enemy, or a Subject could demand of a King, I have procured; and ſuch, as if thoſe of *Montpellier* would have unanimouſly accepted, they had been now in Liberty: For beſides the Patent they had from the King in terms clear and free from all ambiguity, *Monſieur de Chevreuſe*, and *Monſieur* the Marſhall *de Crequi* were delivered up to be kept hoſtages, and to be committed to ſome place of Safety, while the King ſtayed at *Montpellier*; whereupon ſome of the Town told me, that they would not receive them; for that his Majeſty could at pleaſure ſeize upon their Inhabitants, to releaſe them; and that they conceived their preſence would be more advantageous to them than their abſence.

As to the ſecond particular, I anſwer, that it is a moſt ſtrange thing, that my open and profeſſed enemies ſhould omit this occaſion of calumniating me, and that thoſe that are of the ſame Religion with me, ſhould endeavour to make the world believe that, which the actions of our enemies ſo clearly refute: for the crafts and violences practiced by *Monſieur de Vallence* in *Montpellier* for the ſpace of a whole year, to force them to renounce that Patent, and conſent to the raiſing of a Citadel, had been needleſs, if there had been any particular agreement derogatory to that Patent, made with me before.

There remains now the third, as abſurd as the other; to which I anſwer; that the Souldiers being at my diſpoſing, who conſtituted ſuch Officers over them, as I pleaſed, my Authority in *Montpellier* had been much greater, had I abandoned the publick Intereſt, to purchaſe my ſelf more advantageous conditions than I have done: The moſt ſevere of my Cenſurers

ſurers and Detractors muſt confeſs that the Peace was neceſſary and good, had it been obſerved; and that it was not in my power to change any thing in the Edict, nor can they juſtly impute it to me, that it is not ſo well obſerved now, as in the late King's time.

But they further accuſe me for neglecting to take ſuch ſecurities as were requiſite for us; and that I refuſed to retain *Montpellier*, only to neceſſitate them to accept of the Peace I had made; that the Patent given under the King's hand was but a deluſion, and that I had before made other Articles with the King, by which the garriſon was to be perpetually continued there, that I had cauſed *Lunel*, *Maugir*, *Marſilleargues* and *Sommieres* to ſtand out only to amuſe, and looſe the Soulders, purpoſely to diſfurniſh *Montpellier* of them; which things if they were true, they might juſtly condemn me for the moſt treacherous and indiſcreet perſon amongſt us; that being not the way to obtain conditions tolerable for the publick, or any particular Intereſt. But beſides what I have already ſaid, I will yet ſhew, that their accuſations have not the leaſt appearance of Truth; for if the inſufficiency of the ſecurity accepted by me, be objected as my only Crime, I anſwer; that to the laſt, I withſtood the two particulars that concerned it moſt, to wit, the demolition of our new fortifications, and the Kings Entry into our Townes: But ſeeing, that the retarding of the Peace, cauſed a daily decay of our Affairs, I was forced, to do what lay in me, to prevent their utter ruine.

I ſhall not waſte any more time in refuting this Reproach; *That my care to ſecure my own particular Intereſt made me negligent of the publick*; for that the whole courſe of my life, and even this laſt action of the Peace, doth ſufficiently evidence the contrary; having yet no Indemnity as to my Governments; for which I have not ſhewn my ſelf more ſollicitous, than for our publick Concernments. But it is no wonder to me, that thoſe, who durſt not adventure any thing for the defence of our Religion, ſhould make their own the Rule to judge of the diſpoſitions of others by. My actions ſince the concluſion of Peace, muſt needs appear to thoſe who will vouchſafe them an impartial conſideration, as ſo many Arguments of my Sincerity: I have ſpared no pain to procure the Confirmation and Eſtabliſhment of our Articles. I have ſuffered impriſonment, and have boldly repreſented to the King, how highly he doth prejudice both his honour and his ſervice, in ſuffering theſe Infractions of

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the Peace: But neither the perſecutions of our Adverſaries, nor the Calumnies of our own party ſhall ever divert me from the firm reſolution *God* hath given me, to devote my ſelf entirely to the promoting of his ſervice.

And now I ſummon all my critical Obſervators and Detractors, to ſhew me a better way than *I* have taken; and promiſe them, that *I* will ſecond them, better than they have aſſiſted me; and that, laying aſide all remembrance of former Actions, *I* will with a free and cheerfull heart embrace the cauſe of *God*, and repute it my greateſt glory to ſuffer for his Names ſake.

DISCOURSE IX.

An Apologie of the Duke of Rohan *concerning the late Troubles in* France.

'TIs an ingratefull Imployment to ſerve the publick, eſpecially a party weak of it ſelf, and compoſed only of Voluntaries: for if any one fails of his propoſed ends, they all exclaim againſt thoſe that had the Conduct of them. This I have very lately experienced; being condemned by the people, for that their grievances have not met with ſuch redreſſes as they expected, and that by the inſtigation of falſe Brethren, who to purchaſe themſelves an eſteem with the adverſe party, are emulouſly induſtrious to brand me with their own juſt Character, as alſo by our pretended Pacifiques, who in a zealous tone, deploring our miſeries, and caſt the blame on ſuch, as according to their report, by their participation have ruined our Affairs. I willingly excuſe the ignorant people, who ſenſible only of their Afflictions, judge of things rather by the event than reaſon, and lay hold on that

that lyes next before them, like bruit beaſts, that only bite the ſhaft, never reflecting on the arm that darted it: But I cannot pardon men of reaſon, and perſons verſed in the affairs of the world, who continually ſee that the beſt contrived deſignes are not infallibly ſucceſsfull, and that the hopeleſs do not alwayes miſcarry: *Rochelle* alone, to my great grief, furniſheth us with a notable example to this purpoſe. Its firſt Siege was preſently after the Maſſacre, and diſſipation of the whole party, being then weak in fortifications, reduced to the laſt gaſp, and abandoned by all: which obliged *Monſieur de la Noue*, a man eminent in Piety, Prudence and Valour to perſwade them by a timely ſubmiſſion to prevent an utter deſolation: yet was it delivered from that imminent deſtruction, by means of the Poliſh Embaſſadours, who came to demand him for their King, who had then brought it to ſuch extremity. At the ſecond ſiege it was in a very conſiderable condition, very well fortified, and ſtrengthened with Confederates both within, and without the Kingdome, and at ſuch a time as favoured them with great hopes of better diverſions, and yet did we then ſee it loſt: which ſhould teach us not to judge raſhly of any enterpriſes, either by their good or bad ſucceſs, much leſs to condemn them, unleſs we have good reaſons to juſtifie the Cenſure; otherwiſe ſhall we ſhew our ſelves more envious of anothers glory, than zealous for the publick good. Yet could I have born thoſe detractions, had they only reflected upon my Imprdence and Incapacity: and ſhould have only reproached the Authors of them, for not taking my place, and endeavouring by their own actions to correct the errours of mine. But I cannot paſs over in ſilence their other accuſation, that to gratifie my own ambition, I had expoſed the *Proteſtant Churches* in *France* to ruine, and that, to fill up the meaſure of my iniquities, I had delivered them up into the hands of their enemies, to ſatisfie my avarice: theſe are the objections I intend to anſwer, that the world may judge who hath been more careſull of them, thoſe who by an open abandoning, or ſecret oppugning them, have preſerved, and augmented their Eſtates by the acquiſition of fair Offices; or thoſe, who to ſupport them, have reſolutely beheld and ſuſtained the confiſcation of their goods, the demolition of their houſes, the loſs of their Governments, the indignation of their King, the diſperſion of their neareſt kindred, and baniſhment from their native Countrey.

To underſtand this affair aright, we muſt know, that the ſource

ſource of all our evils, was the *Aſſembly Generall* at *Rochelle*, convened by the *Sieur de Favas*, then our *Deputy Generall*. His pretence was the redreſſing of the affairs of *Bearn*, which then lay deſperate and paſt all hopes of Remedy: But the true occaſion of it, was the deniall he had of the Government of *Lectour*, thinking by this means to make himſelf conſiderable, and ſought after, for his own benefit: But, as it is eaſier to put a man upon a precipice, then to withdraw him; ſo, with much leſſe difficulty might this *Aſſembly* be formed then diſſolved; I foreſaw the inconveniencies of it, and endeavoured to prevent their meeting, and to diſſolve them when aſſembled, for which I was aſperſed, as corrupted by the Court. But it is well known to every one, who was the occaſion of their continuance. Had ambition only then governed me, and animated me to make my ſelf Chief of a Party then very conſiderable, and at ſuch a time, when I had not yet experienced the perplexities that attended the attempt; I ſhould not have loſt ſo fair an opportunity to ſhew my courage amongſt thoſe Zealots, whoſe flaſhy zeal expired as ſoon as they had arrived at their ends.

Thus am I clearly innocent of the greateſt fault committed in the management of our affairs: This obſtinacy of the *Aſſembly* drew the *King* upon us, every one ſubmits, and gives him up our Cautionary places: and all from *Saumur* to *Montauban*, yield without any oppoſition, except St. *John d' Angely*, which my Brother defended as well as he could, To deſcribe the various events of that Warre is not proper for this place. But at length a peace was made before *Montpellier*, in which there were comprized no other Generals of any *Provinces* beſides my Brother, and my ſelf; all the reſt having before made their compoſitions apart with large rewards added to their Indempnities: Yet was I then, as now calumniated, as the only betrayer of the Party. But time, and the continued violences I have ſuffered ſince the concluſion of the peace, have pretty well ſilenced thoſe more injurious rumours.

Come we now to the ſecond Warre: The ground of which was a totall infraction of all the Articles of the Peace; eſpecially the not diſgarriſonning of *Montpellier*, and *Fort Lewis*, and detaining the debts owing to particular perſons, which made them all deſpair of their condition. As for me, my own private affairs obliged me to endeavour a continuance of the peace; For, being by the favour of *Monſieur* the *Chancellour de Sillery*, and *Monſieur de Puiſieux* eaſed of my oppreſſions, I had gotten ſome aſſignations to recompence the loſſe of my Governments: But that, which was the moſt urgent motive to this Warre,

were the publique preparations made at *Elavet*, for the blocking up of *Rochelle*, which made its addreſſes to me; My Brother alſo came himſelf to impart to me the deſign he had, to divert the ſtorme that threatned it. I approved his reſolution, which he prepares to execute with the hazard of his Life and Fortunes, upon this condition, that in caſe he proſpered, I ſhould aſſiſt; if he failed, I ſhould diſown him. I know not many of our Cenſurers would have runne the like adventure. The treachery of ſome of the Religion encreaſed the peril of the enterprize; and was the reaſon that it was but half effected: Nevertheleſſe, he ſeized on all the Shippes, and made himſelf Maſter of the Sea, together with the Iſles of *Ré* and *Oleron*, overwhelming all that oppoſed him, untill the *French* Fleet was re-inforced by the conjunction of the *Engliſh* and *Hollander* with them: Whereupon we demanded a peace, which we obtained; and, though it were not ſo advantageous as we could deſire, yet was it better than the former; foraſmuch as all our Fortifications were to remain entire; and that the *King* of *England*, by the King's conſent, became Caution for the obſervance of it: who was alſo promiſed that *Fort-Lewis* ſhould within a little time be razed.

Let us now reflect upon the third Warre, and conſider who were the Authors of it. The revolts and treacheries I had experienced in the two former, made me unwilling enough to runne my ſelf into a new engagement; and, none indeed, that had not proved it, could well judge of the heavineſſe of ſuch a burthen. Not, but that I ſaw that the loſſe of *Rochelle* would neceſſarily follow the continuation of the peace, without ſome extraordinary aſſiſtance; Nevertheleſſe, conceiving the evil irremedible by us, I addreſſed my ſupplications to God, for its deliverance; conceiving it a ſufficient ſatisfaction to my Conſcience, that I had ſomething advanced the condition of our Churches by the precedent peace, and caſt the care of the execution of it upon the ſhoulders of a Potent *King*, who could not with ſafety be diſobliged, and who only was able to undertake the preſervation of *Rochelle*.

Whiles I was in this reſolution, came a Gentleman to me from the *King* of great *Britain*; to let me know, that, being ſurety for our peace, he was equally ſenſible of our ſufferings, to which he would apply all convenient Remedies; that the preparations made againſt it, aſſured him of our enemies intentions to ruin *Rochelle*, notwithſtanding their engagement to the contrary; Wherefore, he reſolved to aſſiſt them to the uttermoſt, and that he was now making proviſion for that purpoſe:

poſe: That, in the mean while he would ſollicite our *King*, by his Embaſſadours, to perform his promiſes in our behalf; and that, though he had little hopes to prevail, yet he conceived himſelf bound to try all gentle wayes, before he uſed any extremities: which if he were forced unto, he would hazard all his Kingdomes, and his own perſon too, in ſo juſt a Warre, to which he found himſelf obliged both by Conſcience, and Honour: provided, that for our parts, we ſhould take Armes with him, and promiſe, as he did, not to liſten to any Treaty, but joyntly with him; That he would entertain his Armies, both at Land and Sea, at his own Charges, untill the end of the Warre; That he had no other aime, than the obſervation of the peace, for which he was engaged; conjuring me not to abandon my Party, when ſo juſt, neceſſary, and apparent opportunity for its Reſtauration, was offered. Proteſting withall, that if he would not hearken to this offer, that he ſhould hold himſelf diſcharged of his engagement, both before God and Man: And for concluſion, deſired me with all ſpeed, to diſpatch a Gentleman to him, with an account of mine, and the reſolutions of all our Provinces.

And here I demand of my Detractors what was to be done in this caſe. If I ſhould abſolutely refuſe this offer, and that the *King* of *England* after the taking of *Rochelle*, ſhould declare, that it was my fault alone that it was not relieved, in what predicament had I then been? Had I not been in execration with all thoſe of my Religion? What cauſe had I then given them to condemn me? And here I challenge every particular perſon of my Accuſers to make my caſe his own, and to conſider, whether I could in conſcience be deaf to ſuch Propoſitions. On the other ſide, I conſidered to what a heavy burthen, I now a third time ſubmitted my ſhoulders; calling to minde the inconſtancy of our people, the Infidelities of the better ſort of them; the poverty of the Villagers, the avarice of the Citizens, and above all, the irreligion of them all.

All which, were ſufficient to ſhake a more reſolute ſpirit than mine. Nevertheleſſe, hoping that God, who had been ever my defence, would not now forſake me; I was blind to all other Intereſts, then that of his Church; and extolling his Piety, and generous Reſolution, anſwered the King's Propoſals, with a promiſe, to take armes, as ſoon as his Army ſhould make their deſcent into the Iſle of *Ré*, and not before; for that our people would need ſuch a Spurr to quicken them: and that, according to his deſires, I would within a few dayes ſend a Gentleman to him, with moſt humble thanks for this offered aſſiſtance, and to ſatisfie

him in all points he deſired to be informed. The, now dead *Sieur de Saint Blancart*, was he whom I employed: After which, came my Lord *Montague* with Credentials, to confirm all that is above related.

The Engliſh Army landed in the Iſland, and a little after I appeared in armes: It was not my fault that that Army took not the *Citadell* of *Ré*; nor that the ſecond victualled not *Rochelle*; nor that the third did not reſcue it from ruin. For as for me, I had continually two or three Armies upon me, which I ſtill held in play, and which was all the diverſion could be expected from me; and God ſo ſtrengthened me, that notwithſtanding our wants and weakneſſe, they got no advantage on me.

But there is yet another aſperſion layed upon me, for that, ſeeing *Rochelle* was loſt, and the *King* engaged in the Relief of *Casal*, I let ſlip that opportunity, to deſire a peace; To which I anſwer, That there was then a *Generall Aſſembly* on foot, with whom I had a joynt adminiſtration of affairs; ſo, that if there were any fault committed, it ought not to be imputed to me alone: But we held this *Maxime: Not to treat with any but ſuch as were able to make good our concluſions*: For our former experience had taught us, that, ſuch Curioſities had ruined our affairs; For while we fed our ſelves with hopes of peace, our enemies were not ſo active to prepare themſelves for warre, but the ſpirits of our Party cooled as faſt; ſo that ſuch Treaties, were but inventions to betray us into a deadly ſecurity. Nor did ſuch propoſitions ever proceed from any but our enemies; to which we anſwered, that we were alwayes ready to ask it with all ſubmiſſion and honour due to our *King*; that we only deſired leave to ſend to the *King* of Great *Britain*, without whom we could conclude nothing. And as for my part, I profeſs, that I had rather have endured all extremities, than violated ſo many religious Oathes I had taken, not to enter upon any Treaty without him. To which I add, that the hopes we had of conſiderable and ſpeedy ſupplies from forraign Princes; the reiterated aſſurances of the *King* of *England*; that he would never conclude a Peace, in which we were not included; and the great diverſions the *King* then had, were, methinks, ſufficient reaſons, to withhold us from ſo unreaſonable preſſing for it.

There remains nothing more to be ſpoken, but concerning the Peace it ſelf; in which we muſt reflect upon the King's, and our own condition, and how things were then carried; that we may the better judge, whether any thing could be better done: Our Impieties obſtructed our deliverance, which God only ſhewed us, as he did the land of *Canaan* to the Children of *Iſ-*

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rael, who dyed in the Desert. But if we reform our selves, he will, as he did for them, reserve it for our posterity.

He suffered the *King* to conquer, as soon as he came and saw: For to force the narrow passiges of the Mountains, to take the Towne of *Susa*, and revictual *Casal*, and make a peace with the *King* of *Spaine*, and the *Duke* of *Savoy*, were but one and the same action: This expedition over, and the peace with *England* made, he turned his whole power against us. The Country about *Montauban* was ravithed by *Monsieur* the *Prince*, and the *Duke d'Espernon*; that about *Castres* by *Monsieur* the *Duke de Ventadour*; that about *Millaud* by *Monsieur de Noüailles*; that about *Nismes* by *Monsieur* the *Mareschall d'Estrée*; And the *King* in person came also with his victorious Army, which he re-inforced with that of the *Duke de Montmorency*.

Thus were we at the same time, environed with six Armies, consisting of more than fifty thousand Men, with a train of fifty piece of Canon, with Ammunition for fifty thousand shot, and other provision sufficient for the nourishment of the Souldiery. 'Twas then that the *Partisans* the *King* had in our Townes, began to shew themselves, making overtures of particular Treaties to defeat a general Peace. Every one of those wasted Communalties, except *Nismes* and *Montauban*, required my presence with an Army; or threatned me with a particular accommodation. By the treachery of the *Sieur de Chevrilles*, was the *Sieur St. André de Montbrune*, with eight hundred Men of *Languedoc*, together with the Town of *Privas* lost. The *Sieur de Beauvoir*, having made his own composition, turned Broker for *St. Ambroise*; and all the Souldiers I had put in there, went thence Oratours to perswade others to the like cowardize and baseness. In all *Languedoc*, and the *Sevenes* could I not find a man would undertake the Command of *Alez*, to endure a Siege there; nor yet in *Aduze*, unlesse I shut my self up with them. Divers Communalties had formed their Assemblies before my face, and in spight of me, to make their own Peace apart; To dissolve which, I was enforced to call a *Provincial Assembly*, and promise them, that, if that proved ineffectual to procure a general Peace, they shou'd then be at liberty to make their own conditions. All the most eminent of our Party, a few only excepted, upon every slight occasion pick quarrels either among themselves, or with me; and many of them treated by themselves; for, none thought of saving any thing but his own goods from this miserable wrack. In short, there was none that had any consideration of the Publique Interest. I should have been then glad to have seen,

any of theſe *State-Criticks*, who living at their eaſe, and out of all danger, ſo freely beſtow their Cenſures upon others: I believe that in ſuch an extremity, they would have felt no leſs perplexities than I then ſuffered.

But this is not all; I ſaw that a general Peace was inevitably neceſſary, but found it obſtructed by many and great difficulties. The King's Councill very well knew our condition, and were extreamly deſirous to proceed in their deſign; encouraged thereunto by our falſe Brethren, who daily made them new Propoſals, tending to our deſtruction: and, had not I prevented the execution of the Town of *Sauve's* reſolution, we had never obtained a general Peace. On the other ſide, though not one Communalty, would put themſelves in a poſture of defence, it being impoſſible to incline them to diſturſe one *Denier*, towards the raiſing of any Souldiers, or drawing any to thoſe places where we feared a ſiege; Yet, by the inſtigation of ſome inconſiderable, but ſeditious perſons, bribed to diſturbe and embroyle us, did they murmure, when there was any ſpeech of throwing off but one ſtone from their Fortifications.

To remove theſe difficulties, I let the Court know, that I was reſolved with the moſt of our Party, to dye bravely, rather than fail of a general Peace. That it was dangerous to leave an armed people no other hope of ſafety than in death; that I would never treat alone; but, that if they would grant me reſpite but for four dayes with a ceſſation for that time, and ſafe conduct to bring the *Generall Aſſembly* from *Niſmes*, to *Anduze*, I durſt promiſe my ſelf a happy concluſion: which was at length, but not without much heſitation: accorded me When the *Generall Aſſembly* were there arrived, they would not charge themſelves alone with the whole burthen of the Treaty, eſpecially at ſuch a time, when it was impoſſible to obtain a Peace any way correſpondent to their deſires, and whence the reproaches they were to fear, ſo farre exceeded any thanks they could hope for; But deſires the aſſiſtance of the *Provincial Aſſembly* of the *Sevenes*, and alſo of that of the Town of *Anduze*, as being moſt threatned with a Siege, and moſt concerned in the ſubſiſtence of the Fortifications. All conclude that a general Peace was neceſſary; and that they ought not to inſiſt on any thing, but the qualification of the Article concerning the Fortifications. But the *General Aſſembly* not ſatisfied with this, aſſociated to themſelves twelve other Deputies extraordinary: ſix from *Niſmes*, and ſix from *Uſez*, ſent purpoſely to endeavour the preſervation of the Fortifications and as many more alſo from the *Aſſembly*

of

of the *Sevenes*: So that the Aſſembly conſiſted then of five and fourty, or fifty perſons: who unanimouſly ſent their Deputies to the Court; where they had audience, were received to treat, and many Articles were agreed on; but, as concerning that of the Fortifications, no mention of any modification could be ſuffered; ſo that our Deputies returned without concluding any thing, and made their report to the *Aſſembly*; who thereupon ſent to thoſe of the *Sevenes* for their advice. The Town of *Anduze* firſt vote a peace, with the loſſe of their Fortifications, next the *Provincials*, and laſt of all the *Aſſembly Generall* do the like alſo, and returned their Deputies to conclude it; charging them moreover to inſiſt upon ſome ſatisfaction to be made to me, in lieu of the loſſes I had ſuſtained. Thus did we obtain a generall Peace; and for my particular, they procured me a promiſe of an hundred thouſand Crowns: out of which *I* aſſigned more than fourſcore thouſand Crowns, to ſuch as had either ſerved the Party, or diſburſed any ſummes towards the payment of the Souldiery; ſo, that there remains not to my portion twenty thouſand Crowns to repair my ruinated Houſes.

And now I ſhall ſubmit it to the judgement of all Prudent, and Equitable perſons, whether I was the occaſion of the firſt War? Whether the ſecond were prejudicial to thoſe of our Religion? Whether *I* procured the third? Whether that being ſolicited by the *King* of *England*, to ſuch an engagement, ought to have refuſed it? Whether that being obliged not to hearken to any Treaty but conjoyntly with him, I ought to draw upon my ſelf the guilt of perjury? And, whether after the peace was made between *England* and *France*, when *I* was beſet of all hands, I ſhould rather ſuffer the Extinctions of our Edicts, than preſerve them by a General Peace; though with the loſſe of our Fortifications, which we were no wayes able to defend.

Theſe are the Crimes layd to my charge by our *Pacifiques*, and for which I have been condemned of thouſands to be torn with wild-Horſes, (which I eſteem a glory to me, ſince they before alſo preſumed to ſentence *Henry* the Great, and Harquebuſied him in *Effigie*). I ſhall wiſh that thoſe that ſhall ſucceed me have no leſſe zeal, fidelity and patience, than I have had; that they may meet with a people more conſtant, leſſe various, and more zealous than I have done; and that *God* would Crown their endeavours with more proſperous Events; that at length, reſtoring the Deſolate Churches of *France*, they may happily accompliſh what I have attempted. *Amen.*

DISCOURSE X.

Monſieur the Prince *his Letter to Monſieur the Duke of* Rohan.

Monſieur,

THe expreſs pleaſure of the *King*, to indulge thoſe of the pretended reformed Religion, with a full liberty of Conſcience, hath made me hitherto allow it to all, reſiding in our Garriſons, Country, and Catholique Townes, that have contained themſelves within the limits of their obedience due to his Majeſty. Juſtice hath had its free courſe: Your Sermons are continued in all places, two or three only excepted, where they were uſed, not as exerciſes of Religion, but as Trumpets to Rebellion. The Officers that marched out of the Townes in Rebellion againſt him, ſtill keep their Offices: In a word, thoſe of the pretended Reformed Religion, that violate not their Loyalty, are treated equally with the Catholiques that have been ſtill faithfull to the *King*. The diſcreeter ſort of your Religion, have curſed your Rebellion, and at length found that the *King* hath done, nor you, nor them any harm, but what you have drawn upon your ſelves, the Malediction of *God*, and your Soveraigns juſt indignation againſt you. By the Letter you wrote to the *Sieur Edmond*, I have learned the reſolution of the *Aſſembly* at *Anduze*. Whether will the rage for your diſcovered juglings, and your fooliſh animoſities againſt the Catholiques hurry you? Thoſe that were taken at *Gallargues* were hanged by your own Decree; Since that you preferred *Aymargues* before their lives: Their deſtruction is juſtifyable, by all the Rules of War, even between two Soveraigns: But in this caſe, between a ſervant and his Maſter, between a ſubject, as you are, and his King, and Soveraign; the threats you breath both againſt the Priſoners, which are of a different Nature from yours, and the Catholiques remaining in the Townes now in Rebellion,

Rebellion, will fall upon your ſelves: You blow againſt the wind; you and your followers, will ſoon, or late, receive an exemplary puniſhment for it. For my part, I freely declare, I ſhall not fail to diſpoſe of the Priſoners taken at *Gallargues*, according, as with good reaſon, I intended; and, (beſides *Savignac*, and thirty others with him in *Thouloufe*,), all the Priſoners of *Tiaquet*, and *Montpellier*, and all others that are already, or for the future ſhall be taken, ſhall undergo the ſame pains, you inflict on thoſe you now detain; and all the *Huguenots* in the Kingdom, the Miniſters and Officers not excepted, ſhall be payed in the ſame Coyn, the Catholiques under your power are; And of this be moſt confident. And now that *Rochelle* is at the laſt gaſp; and that the *Engliſh*, diſcovering your fallacies, have deſerted you, let it ſuffice you, to have added to your former Rebellions, three moſt notorious Crimes: The firſt is, the calling in of Forraigners into the Realm, and boaſting of it publiquely in your writings. The ſecond is, the creating Officers of Juſtice. The third is, Your coyning of mony with the Royal ſtamps: proper only to the *King* himſelf. *God* reward you according to your deeds, and give you grace to repent. For my part, I could wiſh with all my heart, that the King's ſervice would give me leave to be

From *Bezieres*, *Novemb.* 4, 1628.

Your affectionate ſervant Henry de Bourbon.

DISCOURSE

DISCOURSE XI.

Monſieur the Duke of Rohan's *anſwer to Monſieur the* Prince.

My Lord,

AS your quality of Prince of the Blood gives you a Priviledge to write what you pleaſe to me; ſo doth it debar me of the liberty to anſwer you with that freedom I ſhould otherwiſe uſe. It ſhall therefore ſuffice me, that I juſtifie my ſelf againſt your principal Accuſations. I confeſs that I once unhandſomly took up Armes, it being not for any Intereſts of our Religion, but of your perſon only, who promiſed us a reparation for the violations of our Edicts; yet did nothing at all in it, but ſhuffled up a Peace, before we could hear from the *General Aſſembly*. Since that time, every one knows, I never had any recourſe to Armes, but when obliged by pure neceſſity, to defend our Eſtates, our Lives, and the Liberty of our Conſciences. If the Engliſh came to our aſſiſtance, they had much more reaſon for it than the *Germanes* you drew into *France*; for that, by the King's conſent, they were both Mediatours, and Caution for the obſervance of our Peace; If we have coyned money, it was with the King's ſtamp, as it hath been uſual in all our civil Warres. I underſtand my ſelf too well, to pretend to be a Soveraign; nor had I ever my Nativity calculated, to know if I ſhould ever arrive at that height: I confeſſe, I am held in execration among thoſe who ſeek the ruine of the Church of *God*, and glory in it: As for your threatnings, they move me not: I am reſolved for all events. I ſeek my repoſe in Heaven; and God will vouchſafe me the Grace to enjoy the quiet of my Conſcience upon Earth. You put to death the priſoners taken at *Gallargues*; I followed your example, doing the like to thoſe I took at *Monts*, I conceive this practice, will be more prejudicial to yours, than our men; for as much as being uncer-

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cain of their Salvation, death muſt needs be more terrible to them. You taught me to begin an exerciſe contrary to my own diſpoſition. And yet, I ſhould conceive my ſelf too cruel to my Souldiers, not to immolate ſome victimes to them. As for the maſſacres you threaten thoſe of the Religion with, who, under the Protection of the publique Faith, are now among you; It is a fair encouragement to make them truſt their enemies, and a juſt vindication of our lawfull defence: I hope alſo that the *King* will one day know I have done him no diſſervice, and will forget his diſpleaſure. You tell me, *God* will curſe me: I confeſſe I am a great ſinner, for which I do ſeriouſly repent me; but, ſince the ancient Propheſies are fulfilled, and that I give no credit to thoſe of our times, I do not fear that fire from Heaven ſhall conſume me. In a word, I do not think you beſtow theſe imprecations on me in good earneſt, but only to purchaſe you a great eſteem among the Papiſts; For, as 'tis reported, you have done well enough in this War, which gives me an aſſurance that you will let us alone in the poor *Sevenes*, ſince there are more knockes than Piſtols to be received. There remaines nothing for concluſion, but to pray *God* that he deal not with you after your works; but, that bringing you yet back again to the true Religion, he will give you conſtancy to perſevere in it to the end: that imitating the examples of your Father and Grandfather; you may prove at length the Defender of our Church; then ſhall I ſubſcribe that to your perſon, which I now do to your quality; that I am

My Lord,

Alez Novemb. 6. 1628.

Your ſervant *Henry de Rohan.*

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DISCOURSE XII.

The Duke of Rohan's *Manifeſto upon the late Occurrences in the Country of the* Griſons, *and the* Valteline.

THe true Cauſes of the Inſurrections of the *Griſons*, would be better concealed than publiſhed; and it much troubles me, that I am obliged to diſcover them: But the Calumnies, which people unpuniſhed, are daily ſuffered to print againſt me, and the care taken to deſcry me both within, and without the Kingdom, conſtrain me, for the vindication of my honour (which I eſteem dearer than my life) to ſpeak the truth, as much, at leaſt, as convenience will give way to: For, there are ſome things which I cannot reſolve to touch, but imperfectly; though *I* have juſt reaſon to preſent them in their own true Shapes. The *King* at the Treaty of *Hieraſco*, obtained a demolition of the Forts built by the *Imperialiſts* in the Country of the *Griſons*, who were alſo to be re-ſtabliſhed in the *Valteline*, as they were before the beginning of the Rebellion. I was then at *Venice*, where when *I* thought of nothing, but ſpending the reſt of my dayes in quiet: *I* was commanded by the *King* into the Country of the *Griſons*, to put that deſign in execution: *I* preſently obeyed, and tranſported my ſelf into thoſe parts; where *I* found, that by the King's Order there was a Levy made of three thouſand Men: and that they had begun the Fortifications of the Bridge over the *Rhine*; which *I* continued with as much care, and diligence, as the money allotted for it would give way. When *I* had thus ſpent a whole year, *I* was commanded to reduce the Troops to a thouſand Men, and to return again to *Venice*; which *I* did to the great diſſatisfaction of the *Griſons*, who were much diſcontented to ſee themſelves fruſtrated of their hopes of being reſtored to the *Valteline*, and in arreares great ſummes of money for four moneths pay. Not long after I received a new Command to return to the

the *Griſons*, to obſerve the Actions of the Duke of *Feria*, that he ſeized not on it, as he marched with his Army into *Germany*. After that Army had paſſed the *Valteline*, I had ſix ſeveral Orders to enter it, which were as many times revoked : at length, I received other Orders to go to *Paris*, where I was commanded to go to *Alſace*, and thence to the *Griſons*, to execute the deſign upon the *Valteline*, in *April*, in the year 1635. I happily paſſed through *Switzerland*, and ſeized on the *Valtetine*, which *I* defended in four ſet Battels, in which the Emperour, and the King of *Spains* Armies, ſent thither to drive me thence, were defeated. I uſed all neceſſary means to ſecure all the *Valteline*, and the County of *Bormio* and *Chiavennes* : all which was approved by his Majeſty. Then was I inſtantly urged by the *Griſons* for their re-ſtabliſhment in the *Valteline*, according to the many Royal promiſes made them both by word of mouth, and in writing. But having no order to do it; and being no longer able to delay them with excuſes, I ſent Intelligence of all to the Court; propoſing alſo an Accomodation, which, though full of difficulty, *I* doubted not to effect; I had Orders to attempt it; which I did, and ſo purſued it; that at length I procured a Treaty; with the Ratification of the *Griſons*, and the Conſent of the *Valtelines*; by which I obtained all that was deſired, and indeed more than was hoped for. But inſtead of his Majeſties Confirmation, were ſent me Modifications, and exceptions which ruined all.

While the *Griſons* expected the effect of the Treaty, divers accidents happened in the Country : to wit, want of money to pay the *Griſon* Troops: the Peſtilence, which deſtroyed the *French* Army; and a violent ſickneſſe which ſurprized me. All which encouraged thoſe that were deſirous of Innovations, and alienated from us the *Griſon* Colonels and Captains, who were before well affected to *France*; who firſt preſented me with a Petition; next ſent me a Declaration by their Deputies; and at laſt reſolved to quit their Ports, and the ſervice, unleſſe they received ſome pay.

In the mean while, the *Imperial Partiſans*, loſt no opportunity to revive thoſe Conſpiracies, which the Victorious progreſs of the King's Army in the *Valteline*, had well near ſuppreſſed; and ſo farre did they proceed, that there was no ſmall probability that we ſhould then ſee that inſurrection which enſued afterwards. I then kept my bed, having ſcarce recovered my ſpeech, and conſequently was in no fit condition to remedy ſuch diſtempers: All that I could do, was to deſire *Monſieur Laſnier* the Embaſſadour, to take a journey to *Coire*, which he did, but found the Party in ſuch a poſture, that he could by no meanes break

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off the correſpondency between the Colonel's and Captains, with the chief of the League, who promiſed them to leave their poſts, and retire to the middle of their Country, and there continue in a body. As ſoon as I had notice of this diſorder, I commanded a *Sedan* to be prepared, in which I was carried to *Coire*; where I cauſed a *General Council* to be held, for the reducing of theſe people. I was then of opinion to conceal the Modification ſent me from the Court, which *Monſieur Laſnier's* Judgement would not give him leave to aſſent to; ſo, that the propoſition of the Modification was ſent to the Commons, which ſo exaſperated them, that they held another Council at *Illaus*, where they privately reſolved upon the Deputation to *Impruchis* to treat with the *Imperialiſts*, and *Spaniards*.

Notwithſtanding all this, I came to a Compoſition with the *Griſons* Colonels and Captains, concerning their pay: upon which Condition, and after the payment of the firſt ſumme agreed upon between us, they were to return to the ſervice. But all the Remonſtrances I could make during theſe ſtirres, were not prevalent enough to procure the ſecond payment for thoſe Colonels and Captains, nor any pay for the *Switzers*, nor money to furniſh the *French* Souldiers with bread: ſo that I was left alone, to ſtruggle all at once with the diſcontents of the three Nations. In the mean time their Deputies concluded their Treaty at *Impruchts*, and obtained of the King of *Spain*, the payment of their Troops from the firſt of *November*, 1636 the re-eſtabliſhment of the *Juriſdiction* of the *Valteline*, exerciſed by the *Griſons*, without any diſtinction of Religion; and other Articles farre more advantageous, than thoſe we had accorded them. As ſoon as I had diſcovered this agreement, I gave notice of it to the Court, by an expreſs of the 27th. of *December* in the ſame year, in theſe very terms: That the King muſt reſolve to accept of honourable Conditions to leave the *Griſons*, and withdraw his Troops, or to give Order for their ſpeedy ſatisfactions, it being paſt the power of any Promiſes, or Treaties, longer to prevent the eruption of their diſcontents, into an open flame; And, at the bottom of my Letter, I conjured *Monſieur Bouteiller* earneſtly to preſs the conſideration of it there, where it was of greateſt concernment. But all this produced no effect. In the mean while the Deputies returned from *Impruchts*; Whereupon, I wrote again more earneſtly than ever; ſtill hoping, If I could yet obtain any neceſſary ſupplyes of money, to effect two things infallibly; One was to reclaim a good part of thoſe who had deſerted us; being well aſſured, that deſpair, and the ruin of their domeſtique affairs were the only motives that engaged them

them in the contrary Party: The other, which I had alſo compaſſed, had I been aſſiſted with money, was, to have retarded the riſing: For, in ſuch matters, he that gains time winnes all, and delay is the greateſt enemy to all Conſpiracies. This was the only reaſon that hindered my departure towards the *Valteline*; For having determined to ſtop me, the ſame day that I ſhould be in a readineſſe to go from *Coire*; it had been a great imprudence in me to occaſion the eruption of a buſineſſe which time alone could prevent: But theſe conſiderations were of no validity. For, ſo farre were they from furniſhing me with the neceſſaries I demanded, that to compleat our miſchiefs, my Meſſenger returned without an anſwer; ſo that being now void of all hopes, I had no other conſolation to alleviate theſe extream perplexities: but to proteſt before God and Men, againſt thoſe that had occaſioned the ruin of the affairs of that Country; which I did by an expreſs, addreſſed to *Monſieur de Noiers*. Whereupon, ſeeing that I was now deſtitute of all hopes of aſſiſtance, and that my Letters were not vouchſafed an anſwer; there was nothing more lett for me to do, than with impatience to expect the approach of the tempeſt, which I had long before foreſeen.

At length came the ſtorm, of which I was as certain four moneths before, as the very day it fell. I confeſſe indeed, that to avoid the ſight of ſo unpleaſing a Spectacle, I had deſired leave to go to *Venice*, to take order for my affairs there; which was granted me upon condition, that I ſhould be reſponſible for all accidents in the Country of the *Griſons*, during my abſence, but not one word of anſwer was returned, concerning the means I demanded to prevent the evils I foreſaw. The whole Country then being in one day riſen in Armes againſt me; all that I could do was to retire to the fort upon the *Rhine*, and there to Rendezvous the Colonel *Schmit's* Regiment of *Switzers*, conſiſting of 800 men, with the 200 *French* which were there before, be forced to draw off the Guards from the Bridge over the *Rhine*, and from *Steich*, for that I had not men enough to keep thoſe poſtes too.

There was I beſieged by ſix *Griſon* Regiments, which, with the Spaniſh money they had compleated, out of the Communalties of the *Griſon* League, out of the Neighbour Communalties of *Coire*, out of that of *Tans*, of the Valley of *Peyaus*, and the Troops of *Galas*, who were now drawn down to the *Griſon* Frontieres, I heard not any thing from the Army in the *Valteline*, nor could I ſend to them at all, being incloſed in a Fort, where there was but one Mill, which could ſcarce grind Corn

enough

enough for two hundred Men, and generally ſo ill provided of all neceſſaries, that it is a ſhame to ſpeak it: For it was impoſſible, notwithſtanding all the moſt inſtant ſollicitations made to that end, ever to obtain any ſetled ſtores for the ſubſiſtance of the ſaid Fort.

Beſides theſe exigencies, all communication with the *Valteline* was cut off, nor could I long continue my correſpondencies in *Switzerland*; For the *Griſons* kept the Bridge over the *Rhine*, which was fordeable but fifteen dayes: In which time I took the opportunity to ſend *Monſieur de Michoud* Embaſſadour to *Switzerland*, a true ſtate of my condition, that he might give both the *King* and *Monſieur de Thuillerie*, Embaſſadour of *Venice*, an account of it. I writ alſo to the *Canton* of *Zurich*, to try, if I could thence in ſome ſhort time obtain a thouſand or twelve hundred *Switzers*, with which I would have attempted to keep the Field: But *Zurich* conceiving the propoſition too full of hazard to be undertaken by them alone, there being an *Aſſembly Generall* ready to ſit at *Baden*, thought it ſufficient to advertiſe their Neighbours of theſe late accidents, And that *Canton*, with that of *Claris*, ſent Deputies to mediate an accommodation between the *Griſons*, and me: to which end a Conference was held. The *Griſons* demand the *Valteline*, ſo often promiſed them, and a Million of Livers due for their Colonels and Captains for their Arrears: And moreover declare, that, having called in the King's Forces only to defend them againſt their Neighbours, they had no more need of their aſſiſtance, ſince they were now come to an agreement with them; and that, in a word, they deſired without any further delay, they might be put in poſſeſſion of that, which did of right belong unto them; that, ſince the *King* had ſome reaſons which impeded their re-ſtabliſhment in that manner as they deſired, they had now found means to effect it another way, with which they were very well contented, and ſatisfied; and, that if all theſe conſiderations were laied aſide, yet was there one more equivalent to them all; to wit, that they deſired not that the King's Forces ſhould make any longer abode in their Country, and that it was a thing never before heard of, forcibly to impoſe relief on thoſe that deſired not, nor had any need of their aſſiſtance; That Soveraigns give Lawes in their own Territories, and do not receive them from any other; That, as they ſhould ever acknowledge themſelves infinitely obliged to his Majeſty for the aſſiſtance he had vouchſafed them, ſo did it ſeem hard to them, that he ſhould continue his Armies in their Country againſt their will: To

which

which I replyed, that the *King* would eaſily condeſcend to any reaſonable propoſitions, if they were demanded as they ought; and that, if they would give me time to ſend to the Court, I would aſſure them, they ſhould receive all poſſible ſatisfaction.

The Deputies of *Zurich*, and *Claris* omitted nothing to incline them to more friendly terms, at leaſt, till the Seſſion of the *Aſſembly* at *Baden*; but whether, that they feared the disbanding of their new raiſed Souldiers, or whether it was by reaſon of their nearneſs to the *Imperialiſts*, and *Spaniſh* Forces, who deſired nothing more, than to ſet footing in their Country, they would not liſten to any Compoſition, unleſſe I would engage to give them up the Fort upon the *Rhine*; which the *Switzers* Deputies alſo fearing the kindling of a fire ſo near their own Houſes, perſwaded me to reſign.

This was my Condition, and that which is moſt conſiderable is, that the *Switzers* were Maſters of the Fort, who cryed alſo, that they never underſtood that the King's Forces came into the *Griſons* Country for any other end, than to aid them, as Allyes of the Crown; that his Majeſty was too juſt to have any other thoughts; that if it ſhould appear to them that he intended any thing, ſo contrary to the right of Nations, as to continue his Troops in a Confederates Country, by force, they ſhould then conſider what they had to do: That ſince the *Griſons* declared, that they had no more need of the King's Succours, they could no longer remain there, without contracting on the *French* Nation the eternal blemiſh of an unjuſt uſurpation: And as for their particular, they could do no leſs than withdraw their Souldiers, that they might not draw upon themſelves the guilt of being acceſſories to a thing of ſo ill reſentment.

I had no time given me to deliberate hereupon; for, when I thought to have kept it twelve or fifteen dayes, which was all I could do; I was perpetually urged to be gone: Wherefore, I took this following courſe; to wit, to leave the Fort in the *Switzers* hands (who were indeed Maſters of it before) and accept of a certain term to withdraw the *French* Troops from the *Valteline*; by which I got time alſo to inform his Majeſty of it, which I could not any other way obtain of the *Griſons*. This was all could be done in ſuch an exigent as I was in, all other courſes being abſolutely deſtructive; For, beſides that the Fort was not in my power, the *Switzers* being abſolute Maſters of it: it was, as I have before related, utterly unprovided of neceſſaries, nor could be relieved but by the way of *Switzerland*, or the Army in the *Valteline*. As for *Switzerland*, it was

impoſſible to be done that way: Firſt, by reaſon of the averſion the *Cantons* had declared to the deſign; and next, for that it could not be effected, without forcing the *Griſons*, who kept the Bridge over the *Rhin*. As for the *Valteline*, it is moſt certain, that no relief could come thence, it being a thing I could not order, for that it was not in my power, for as much as all communication with that Army was entirely cut off. But, that this might have been done, it had been requiſite that the *Valteline* Army ſhould have been then commanded by a Man able of himſelf to attempt ſuch a thing, without expecting Orders from one, who, as is well known, was not in a capacity to ſend them: For the Forts in the *Valteline*, and County of *Chiavennes*, being furniſhed for two moneths, he might have marched to my aſſiſtance with eight thouſand Foot, and ſeven hundred Horſe, which had been ſufficient to reduce the *Griſons*, and to hinder the Entry of the *Germanes* into that Country. This was the only errour committed in this Affair; As for my particular, I value not the vulgars deſcant on my actions; having as much ſatisfaction within my ſelf, as a punctual and exact obedience to all the Commands impoſed on me, can give; having not drawn off my Troops, nor delivered up the *Valteline* to the *Griſons*, untill I had received his Majeſties Commiſſion for it: It is true, that before I had it, I began to treat, but upon ſuch terms, that I had time enough to know the King's pleaſure, before I came to any concluſion.

If ſince that time any other expedients to repair that Affair, were thought on, they came ſo late, that *Monſieur d'Eſtampes*, and *Monſieur de Guebriant*, who were then preſent, found it impoſſible to put them in execution: which I could more clearly demonſtrate; did not my duty oblige me to conceal things of that nature, which even good manners will never give me leave to reveal.

DISCOURSE

DISCOURSE XIII.

A Letter to Monſieur the Prince *of* Condé.

Monſieur,

I Had never taken the liberty to anſwer thoſe unhandſome Characters, you would have fixed upon me in the *Aſſembly* of *Guienne*, in *November* laſt, could I imagine you had no other deſign, than to exempt your ſelf from the diſhonour, the King's Armes, and the Reputation of the *French* Nation, received under your Command before *Fontarabie*; and ſhould gladly have preferred the reſpect due to your quality before my own Juſtification; had you not alſo engaged that which I owe, my blood, and to aſperſe me, evidenced how willingly you could deſcend from your Quality of Prince of the Blood, to play the ſcurvy Orator, as if you better knew how to uſe your Tongue, and Pen, than your Sword. The greateſt Crime I am charged with in your Writing, was, that I refuſed to obey you, which you yet pretend, not conſidering, that ſuch a contempt of your Command, would more reflect upon your ſelf than me, if that fair opportunity of taking *Fontarabie* had been loſt upon that occaſion, ſince you had then the power in your hand to puniſh me for my diſobedience. Pardon me, *Sir*, if I tell you, that you palliate with my pretended obſtinacy, the favour you were willing to gratifie the Arch-Biſhop of *Bourdeaux* with, to my prejudice, and, that they were your own inventions which made you change, and re-change the Councils after the two firſt aſſaults I had given, and at length loſe your opportunity, to which you impute the affront, as is well known to the whole Army, to deprive me of the fruit of my labours, and ſnatch the *Lawrell* out of my hands: But, how can that conduce to the defeat received three dayes after, or with what colour can that be laid to my charge; ſince you preſently took me from my Poſt,

ſaying, it would be better managed by another, and that one houres ſmart aſſault would make you Maſter of the place. I ſuppoſe, in this you condemn your ſelf, unleſs you pleaſe to ſay, alſo that I tyed your tongue and hands: ſo, that the one could not command, what the others were unable to execute; and that you were much better ſeek ſome more ſpecious pretext to oppreſs me, than to produce ſuch accuſations againſt me, as only betray your own guilt. It were another matter, if yet imputing the miſcarriages to me, you think it ſufficient for my conviction, to ſay, that I ſaw the diſorder, and ſtirred not to ayd you; to this I can juſtly reply, that, if there were any thing of fortune, or honour to be ſayed after the wrack, it was I that preſerved it, and was alſo the occaſion, that the blood of the whole Army was not ſhamefully ſpilt, and that the loſs was not greater than the diſhonour: You never did me the honour to impart any of your reſolutions to my knowledge; nor could I have ever thought, that, to hinder the Enemies forcing your Trenches, you would have removed to draw your Army into Battailla two leagues thence, or that you had need of the Body I commanded; ſince you never gave me notice of it; It is true, I heard of the diſturbance, and diſorder in your Camp by the firſt that fled, who came to my Quarters, and in an inſtant had all my men in a readineſs, expecting ſome generous Commands from you; in which expectation, I conceived you had rallyed again; and impatiently attended ſome intelligence from you; the firſt and moſt certain newes I could hear, was that of your imbarquing; which, I muſt confeſs ſurprized me with amazement, and that being not able to imagine how that ſhould be, I ſought in your Wit, and Courage for thoſe Reaſons which I could not find in your misfortune; for that I could not ſuppoſe you were circumvented for want of providence; that if you were forced to give way to the greater power of your Enemies, I did conceive, that retreating to my Troops, which I ſtill then believed you had kept as a Reſerve, we might rally the reſt by your Preſence, and turn again upon your Enemies, who had gotten ſo cheap a Victory; on which I my ſelf had adventured, had I not by experience known, how great an influence the example of the *Generall* hath, either to raiſe or deject the ſpirits of the whole Body, and that your ſo ſudden imbarquing had diſheartned all our Souldiers; Nevertheleſſe, all the reſt of that day, and the night following, did I keep all that were under my Command in Armes: conjecturing that you would take up ſome noble Reſolution in this Diſaſter, and apply ſuch a remedy to it, as could not be expected from

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any but your self: I drew not off at all until I saw my self absolutely frustrated of my hopes, and then recreated in such order, as that the Enemy durst not make any attempt upon me; And, 'tis in this particular alone, that I can acknowledge any just cause you have to complain of me, since I usurped the honour which was due to you; My respect shall incline me to suffer all else your passion shall speak against me; and, I am very sorry, that for your entire satisfaction you should be enforced to say, that I have been much suspected in many other rencontres, but that I have not always behaved my self ill: I would not, it should be known what I contributed to your passage into *Spain*, which progress you extoll so high, to make the ruines of it fall more impetuously upon me; and could wish you had been more reserved in that accusation, for that the multitude you bring to convince me in that particular, makes the world impute the whole guilt to you: It had been enough that you had Justified your self in a publique Assembly, and after your fashion, given the King an account of my Compor-ements, without publishing and crying in the streets of *Paris*, your triumph over me at *Fontarabie*. It would have been looked on, as a Procedure much more beseeming your Quality, had you left the thing wholly to his Majesties consideration, who alone was concerned to absolve, or punish me, if I had offended, and not made your self a Solicitour, Judge, Party, and Suborner of Witnesses, against an Innocent and absent person, whom your Tyranny only forced to leave the Kingdom.

But what have my Father and my Brothers done to be involved with me in your Invectives, unless perhaps you desire to condemn them for fear they should Justifie me, or that you think your self not sufficiently cleared, unless you raze, and pluck up the very Foundations of our House: Pardon me, *Sir*, if I tell you that the honour my Father hath had, to be raised, esteemed, and caressed by Kings themselves: the Service he hath done the State, and his Age, might have made you spare him for your own sake; since you have him only for mine; and that, as during his whole life he hath professed himself to be, a Just, and Generous Person, who never betrayed his Friends, nor knew how to flatter his Enemies: he hath still so demeaned himself, that he hath never directly slighted or offended the Parliaments, as you insinuate: nor yet been guilty of so much folly and want of reason, as to stand in need of so poor supports, as flattery to uphold his Quality.

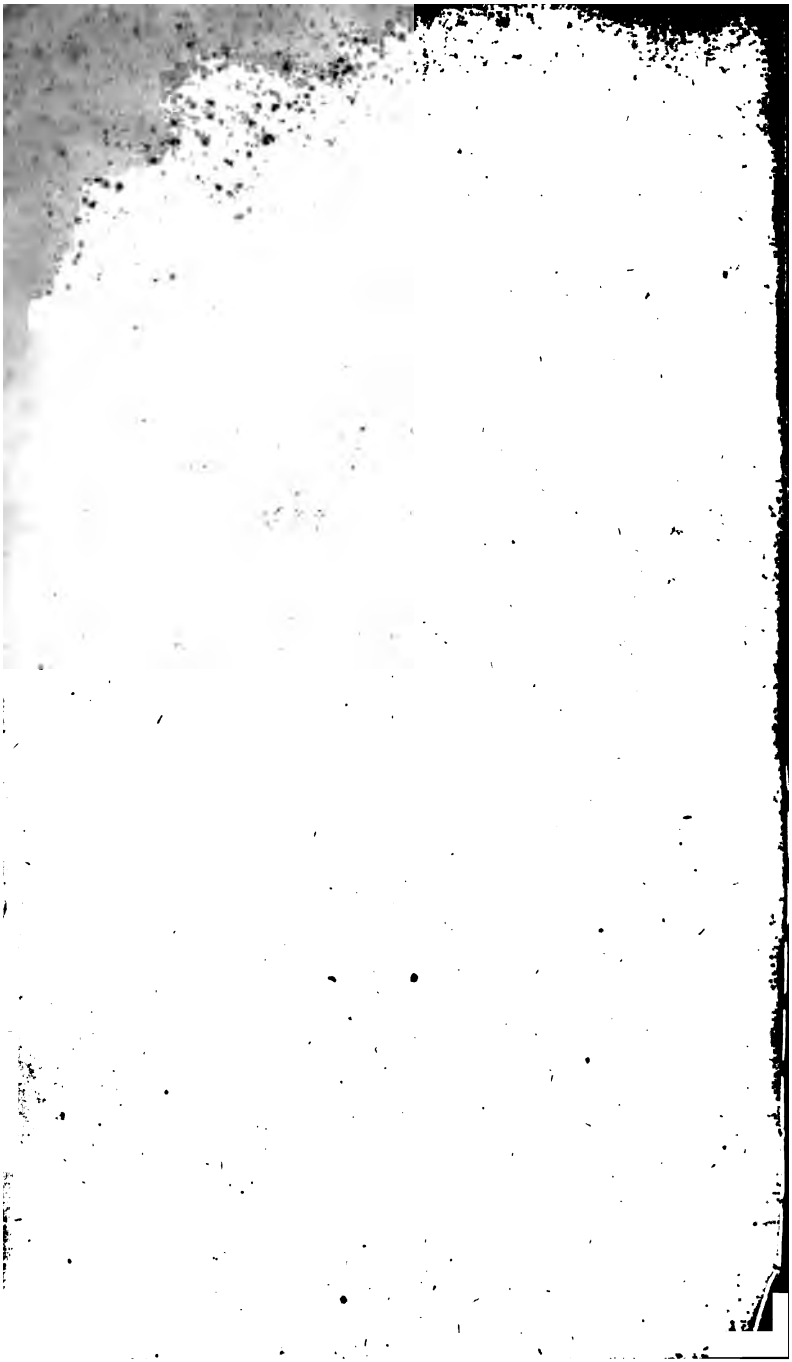
Nor are my Brothers any more guilty of any Crimes than my Father; nor can I imagine why you should seek to make them share

ſhare in my diſgrace, unleſs you bare them ſome ſecret grudge, which you will not diſcover; But after all theſe things, *Sir*, I am ſorry you ſhould alleadge paſt-actions, as reaſons to perſwade the people of the verity of your preſent Objections againſt me; and that you ſhould upbraid me with the Battel of *Eſpellate*, unleſs for fear they ſhould reproach you that of *Dolé*; and, that you charge my Father with ſeditions, which are Crimes, as you ſay, leaſt pardonable in all States, leſt they ſhould call to mind the troubles raiſed by you in the King's Minority; during which time, we may ſafely ſay, that you taught the Nobility Faction, and the yet bleeding people Rebellion; which you never gave off, untill the *Bois de Vincennes*, took away both your Reputation, and the uſe of it.

I know not, *Sir*, with what Eye you will regard this my juſt Defence; but I truſt in your goodneſs, that when you come to your ſelf again, you will not take it amiſs, that a worm of the Earth ſhould turn againſt him that goes to cruſh him: and hope, that thoſe, who have ſtirred you up to perſecute me, will one day more juſtly bear the penalty of your Indignation than my ſelf.

Henry de Rohan.

FINIS.

Jonathan Andrews

Jonathan Andrews